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SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD EAST EUROPE, WEST EUROPE, AND THE SOVIET UNION

SEPTEMBER 12 AND 13, 1985

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations

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SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1985

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, at 2:06 p.m., in room S-116, the Capitol, Hon. Larry Pressler (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Pressler, Pell, and Biden.

Senator PRESSLER. We are very pleased to welcome you to the second session of our series of seven hearings on the United States-European relations. The overall title of the series is a provocative one: "Is NATO Still the Centerpiece of U.S. Foreign Policy? Should it Be?"

Many of the issues most crucial to the United States and our European allies through the 1990's, whether they are bilateral, NATO-related, or East-West, will be examined in these seven sessions.

We look forward to your contribution to this effort.

This afternoon we have two guests. The first will be Mr. Robert M. Gates, the Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency for Intelligence.

Mr. Gates was appointed Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, effective September 1, 1983. As such, he serves as the Director's principal advisor on intelligence analysis. He also directs the preparation of all national intelligence estimates prepared by the intelligence community. Mr. Gates also continues to serve concurrently as Deputy Director of Intelligence for the CIA. As such, he directs the CIA's component which is responsible for all analyses and the production of finished intelligence.

We will hear from him first.

But first, I would like to say that this meeting is a closed meeting and everyone present must have the proper security clearance. If anyone knows of anyone who does not have that proper clearance, please speak up, and we will not proceed with them present.

[No response.]

Senator PRESSLER. With that background, I will call on Mr. Gates for his statement.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT M. GATES, DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR INTELLIGENCE, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, ACCOMPANIED BY JOHN McLAUGHLIN, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF EUROPEAN ANALYSIS, DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE; JOHN KRINGEN, CHIEF, SUBVERSION ANALYSIS BRANCH, FOREIGN SUBVERSION AND INSTABILITY CENTER, OFFICE OF GLOBAL ISSUES, DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

Mr. GATES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The statement itself is classified "secret." We will make an effort, subsequent to the hearing, to sanitize the testimony so that it can be used in the report of the subcommitee.

We are here today to brief on Soviet active measures, or covert action in Western Europe.

Soviet active measures are covert operations designed to shape public opinion in foreign countries on key political issues. These measures are targeted at opinion-makers, such as political leaders, the media, and influential businessmen, as well as the public at large.

They embrace a range of activity, which include: placing disinformation in the press; surfacing forged documents; planting rumors; promoting causes through parties or front groups; and shaping policy through agents of influence.

Typically, the KGB and other Soviet organizations implement active measures through their officers posted to foreign countries who, in turn, employ local assets.

KGB officers use diplomatic, commercial, or journalistic cover. Journalism is the preferred cover for active measures officers because it allows easy access to senior policymakers.

Soviet active measures cannot be divorced from other, more overt policy tools, such as propaganda and diplomacy. When Moscow decides to wage a political influence campaign, it commits resources across the board.

Articles covertly placed in the foreign media, for example, are often later cited in Soviet propaganda as proof of Soviet claims.

Moscow's ability centrally to orchestrate their political influence activities, both overt and covert, it unique in the world. Moreover, in conducting covert actitivies, Moscow is singularly advantaged in the ready ability of its intelligence organizations to call upon the service of academic, commercial, diplomatic, and journalistic colleagues.

The effectiveness of Soviet active measures derives from their scope and this systematic, coordinated approach.

The first handout that you have illustrates the nature of this relationship.

[The information referred to follows:]

Senator PRESSLER. Is this the handout?

Mr. GATES. Yes, sir.

Western Europe is an ideal laboratory for active measures because its societies are open and its governments sensitive to public opinion. Active measures are used to exploit vulnerabilities in West European political life by feeding ideas, guidance, and financial support to disaffected elements of the politically active public.

Let me turn now to resources committed to Soviet active measures.

The Soviet resource commitment to both covert and overt political influence activities is very large.

We estimated in 1982 that the total Soviet annual expenditure for such activities was in the range of $3 to $4 billion. We have seen no evidence that the level of Soviet activity has lessened in recent years.

Three organizations are principally responsible for these activities; the KGB, the International Department of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, and the Soviet Party's International Information Department.

Precise estimates of the personnel and financial resources that the KBG devotes to these activities are not available.

According to several of our knowledgeable defector sources, however, service A, the active measures component of the KGB, has some 700 officers in the field and at headquarters.

The International Department of the Communist Party is responsible for dealing with nonruling foreign Communist parties, front organizations, and clandestine broadcasting.

Working under the Politburo, the International Department formulates the party line to be used in foreign political influence activities. We estimate it has 150 to 200 people working in Moscow with approximately 25 desk officers on Western Europe alone.

Senator PRESSLER. What is it that has that many people?

Mr. GATES. The International Department of the Communist Party.

Senator PRESSLER. Of the KBG?

Mr. GATES. Of the Communist Party overall. They have about 150 to 200 people in Moscow, but about 25 working on Western Europe.

The organization also has representatives abroad, and we have identified field representatives in several West European countries.

The International Department plays a key role in formulating the tactics that foreign parties and front groups use in Soviet-backed campaigns. In the anti-INF campaign from 1980 to 1985, for example, the International Department worked closely with several West European Communist Parties, instructing them on the lines to take, tactics to use, targets to influence, and so on.

The International Information Department of the Soviet Communist Party exercises oversight of the international dimensions of Moscow's propaganda apparatus, including the TASS and Novosti wire services, Radio Moscow, the major Soviet dailies, and the Information Departments of the Soviet Embassies.

The headquarters staff of this group is small, but the propaganda apparatus that it oversees has been growing dramatically. Just as an example, TASS operations have grown significantly in the last

15 years, from some 62 foreign subscribers in 60 countries now, to some 300 foreign news agencies and broadcast companies in 93 countries.

RESOURCE CAPABILITIES IN WESTERN EUROPE

Western Europe is clearly one of Moscow's major targets for active measures and Soviet activities there have a long history.

On a worldwide scale, there is probably no part of the world in which the Soviets are more committed or active. Thus, the Soviets have in place an impressive resource base in Western Europe to undertake covert action, as well as espionage and the theft of advanced technology.

The core of this effort is the estimated more than 700 diplomats stationed in Western Europe. Based on what we have seen elsewhere, we estimate that about a third of these are intelligence officers. These, of course, can call on other members of the Embassy staff to assist them.

This sizable Soviet presence is augmented by an estimated more than 1,200 diplomatic representatives from East European countries.

The Soviets also fully avail themselves of the several U.N. organizations——

Senator PRESSLER. Now, when you say from East European countries, are you saying that the people Czechoslovakia and Hungary send are essentially Soviet agents and that they would do what they are told?

Mr. GATES. They are responsive to Soviet tasking, yes, sir.

Senator PRESSLER. So, if you meet a diplomat in the United States or any place in the world who is from an East European country, a high level diplomat, he probably would respond to Soviet orders?

Mr. GATES. Yes, sir.

It may be direct or it may be indirect, through his own intelligence service. But if the Soviet Union tells that ambassador to approach so-and-so, or to do business with that journalist, or to collect this kind of information, he will do that.

Senator PRESSLER. So, if it is a sensitive matter, as 90 percent of the matters might be on trade or things that aren't considered sensitive, but the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, for example, if I were having lunch with the Hungarian Ambassador, or the Bulgarian, or the East German, there is a very good chance that if they wanted to relay something, probably not to me but to somebody else, they would do it. That is, the Soviet Ambassador would call him and tell him to do something and he would do it?

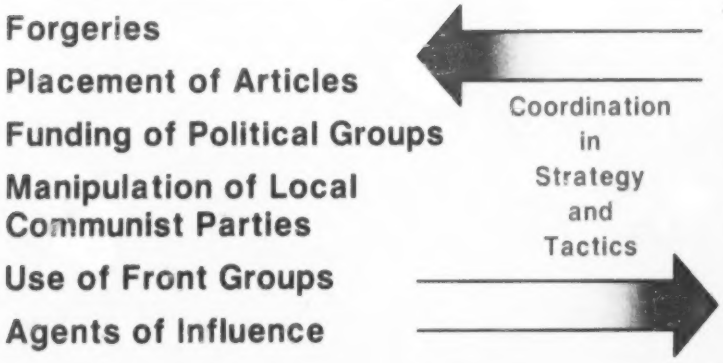
Mr. GATES. Yes, sir.

The Soviets also fully avail themselves of several U.N. organizations in Western Europe. Approximately 560 Soviets are associated with U.N. organizations in Europe either as diplomats assigned to the United Nations or as members of the U.N. staff.

A number of these have been identified as intelligence officers engaged in a variety of covert activities, including running active measures operations.

Soviet Political Influence Activities

Politburo-Approved Programs



The Soviets also have in place a substantial apparatus outside their Embassies and the United Nations, Soviet press representation in Western Europe is significant.

Recent estimates indicate that there are more than 200 Soviet press representatives in West European countries, with substantial numbers in Finland, France, and West German.

Defectors report that as many as 70 or 80 percent of TASS bureau personnel would be intelligence officers. For example, in a six-man TASS office, three reporters may be KGB, two GRU—that is the Soviet military intelligence organization—and only one, usually the bureau chief, a trained, full-time journalist.

Such intelligence connections are not limited to TASS. Novosti, the foreign bureaus of Izvestia and other news organizations also provide cover for intelligence officers.

Soviet press representatives author articles in the Western press. In July, for example, a former TASS correspondent authored an article in a Danish Communist newspaper alleging that U.S. bases in Greenland would be used in the Strategic Defense Initiative Program and that such use would violate the ABM treaty.

In virtually every West European country, the Soviet bloc also has commercial representation. At least 11 European countries have more than 10 such firms. While these firms engage in a wide variety of legitimate business activities, they also engage in covert activities and in recent years, Soviet managers of these firms have been expelled or arrested in Italy or Belgium.

It is standard Soviet practice to use commercial firms as conduits for covert funding to political organizations. Trade with Moscow provides a ready opportunity to cover such funding through paper transactions that misrepresent the goods exchanged.

For example, the quality and quantity of goods sold to the Soviet Union are sometimes overstated, with the excess being kicked back to the firm's owners or a designated third party.

Several West European Communist parties currently receive substantial funding through these sorts of arrangements.

To cover its tracks, the Soviets can engage in complex international financial transaction. Funds for one West European Communist Party, for example, were channeled through a Soviet firm in another country.

Senator PRESSLER. By a "Soviet firm," do you mean a business that the Soviets buy, or an import-export firm, or something like that?

Mr. GATES. Yes, sir—or an organization like the Soviet trading organization, like Amtorg, that operates in this country. Also shipping firms as well. That sort of thing.

Moscow's covert activities or covert efforts to manipulate the West European political scene are performed against a backdrop of substantial and increasingly sophisticated propaganda operations.

According to USIA, Soviet "informational" activities in Western Europe are substantial, with an across-the-board effort that employs radio broadcasting to Western Europe in more than 20 languages, cultural activities, and distribution of Soviet books and periodicals, the Soviet friendship socities in virtually every West European country. In addition, clandestine radio stations in East Germany broadcast to Turkey.

The Soviets are experimenting with satellites to broadcast directly television programs to audiences in Western Europe. While these transmissions require special reception equipment and are now limited to Russian-language domestically-oriented programs, Moscow has now the technical ability to make direct transmissions to virtually all areas of the world. These programs, which are available free, are already being broadcast on cable television in Sweden.

The Gorbachev regime plainly is more astute than its predecessors in manipulating public perceptions. In their public dealings, both Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze have already demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of how to use the Western media. Moreover, Gorbachev seems to be preparing to revamp the Soviet propaganda apparatus.

According to a variety of intelligence reporting, Moscow derives considerable benefit from using the intelligence services of its allies to support Soviet active meaures abroad.

In some cases, like covert press placements, allied participation broadens and reinforces the impact of Soviet efforts. In other instances, such as foreign political influence operations, they give Moscow more effective entree.

The East European services are probably more useful whether they have special access to specific target groups or countries.

East Germany's ability to exploit its cultural and commercial ties to penetrate thoroughly West German society is pretty apparent.

East European emigre organizations throughout Western Europe are particular targets of certain allied services, like the Poles and the Czechoslovaks, to influence public opinion and Western European politics toward the East.

Many East Europeans can often operate less obtrusively than the Soviets because of their reputation for being "Western-oriented," for example, the Hungarians and sometimes the Poles.

East Europeans also play a significant role in doing Moscow's bidding inside various front organizations, active in Western Europe. Moscow has tried to lend an aura of "international" legitimacy to many of these organizations by basing them in Eastern Europe, for example, the World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague.

The World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the International Union of Students, for example, are all heavily staffed by East Europeans who help orchestrate political influence and propaganda campaigns against the West.

The degree of direct KGB oversight of Bloc active measures and other intelligence operations varies according to its relationship with a given service and the specific program.

[Deleted.]

Moscow sometimes formulates blocwide plans of action with a formal division of labor among its allies. [Deleted.]

Turning to Soviet priorities in Western Europe right now, historically Moscow's activities in Western Europe have been primarily directed toward weakening support for NATO preparedness and strategic force modernization. In the late 1970's and early 1980's, for example, the Soviet conducted major campaigns against deploy-

ment of the enhanced radiation weapon, or neutron bomb. We estimated in 1981 and 1982 that the Soviets perhaps had put as much as $100 million into that campaign.

They also have conducted campaigns against the intermediate range nuclear forces.

In late 1984, the Soviets made the President's Strategic Defense Initiative the latest target in their efforts to interfere with Western strategic programs.

Soviet propaganda strategists also see the campaign against SDI as an opportunity to revitalize the West European peace movement after an extended period of inactivity, following INF deployment in Germany in 1983.

The campaign's effect on Western European audience is almost certain to be a factor in the evolution of Soviet bargaining tactics at the Geneva talks, as exploitation of the peace movement was in earlier INF negotiations.

We are beginning to see the kind of coordinated activity against SDI that characterizes a major Soviet campaign. The Soviets have tasked their fronts to turn their attention to the SDI issue, and we are already seeing the results. The World Peace Council, a Soviet front based in Helsinki, has held a series of conferences in Helsinki, Athens, and Vienna to engage peace movement representatives in discussions on disarmament.

The West Berlin Communist Party, long prominent in the peace movement, exploited the May observances marking the 40th anniversary of VE day by inserting ant-SDI themes into demonstrations and marches.

The Moscow World Youth Festival held this summer featured heavy press play on the anti-SDI theme.

Soviet front organizations have scheduled high visibility anti-SDI conferences in Western Europe and elsewhere well into 1986. The number and scale of these activities imply the infusion of a large amount of money.

To make their criticism of SDI more authoritative, the Soviets are using scientists to take the lead in defining the SDI issue.

I might mention here that some of the Soviet scientists who signed full page ads in several United States newspapers and took out other advertisements in the United States and Western Europe are, in fact, some of the leading scientists in charge of the Soviet SDI-type technology weapons programs.

[Deleted.] Moscow has appointed a leading expert on German affairs to the Vienna-based International Institute of Peace, a front specializing in contacts with the European scientific community.

The Soviets are planning to bring their anti-SDI campaign to the U.N. General Assembly this fall, and the publicity this generates will be replayed in Europe.

The Soviets are already seeking support from U.N. delegates for a variety of draft resolutions to prohibit the "Militarization of space."

Beyond SDI, we expect that the Soviet will continue long-standing efforts to exacerbate tensions within the NATO alliance, with particular emphasis on Greece and Spain.

In Greece, Moscow has sought to incite anti-NATO sentiment by working through the pro-Soviet Communist Party, which is very active in the peace movement.

In Spain, the Soviets, hoping to derail continued Spanish membership in NATO, are continuing their efforts to increase the level of anti-United States and anti-NATO propaganda.

Western Europe is also important to Moscow as a court of public opinion on issues not necessarily confined to its geographic boundaries. For example, Soviet worldwide campaigns to attack the CIA, spread disinformation about Western use of chemical and biological weapons, create support for "nuclear free zones," foster pro-Soviet attitudes among the world's youth, and create doubts about the circumstances surrounding the shootdown of the KAL jetliner, all receive considerable attention in Western Europe.

Over the past year or so, we have seen substantial increases in propaganda and front group activity in Western Europe on behalf of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. The extent of these activities suggests funding by the Soviets or their allies.

Let me now turn to the techniques the Soviets use for active measures in Europe. First I will discuss forgeries.

The shock value and transient credibility of forgeries continue to make them a popular type of active measure.

Our records indicate that in each of the last three years, there have been about 10 identifiable forgeries and fabrications worldwide, an increase over previous years.

Recent forgeries, for example, have attempted to raise public concern about INF deployment. They have attacked the investigation of the Bulgarian connection in the Papal assassination attempt and raised questions about United States policy toward both Chile and South Africa.

About half of the forgeries, which include alterations of actual documents and fabrications of books and fliers, involve targets in Europe.

The quality of forgeries ranges from the very sophisticated to the very crude.

One of the more sophisticated efforts was a series of letters purportedly from Deputy Secretary of Commerce Brown to a number of European firms in late 1984. That is the second item in your handouts. There is a facsimile of the forgery.

[The information referred to follows:]

[Deleted.]

Senator PRESSLER. Where is the second item in that handout?

Mr. GATES. Here it is, right here [indicating].

Senator PRESSLER. OK. Thank you.

This was not sent by Mr. Brown at all, was it?

Mr. GATES. No.

This letter purportedly sought detailed information on their dealings with bloc countries.

These letters, intended to create resentment among the European governments and business communities about U.S. Government interference, were altered reproductions of a letter sent to a European addressee some months earlier.

Substantially less sophisticated was a flyer from a fictitious organization called "The German Section of the Moral Majority," that warned French delegates on their way to the Western-sponsored International Youth Conference in Jamaica of a purported AIDS epidemic there. That is the next item, the next handout.

[The information referred to follows:]

Mr. GATES. In recent years, European journalists have become more skeptical about purported documents that they receive. Many major newspapers in Western Europe now contact U.S. embassies about their authenticity.

Consequently, while efforts are first made to surface forgeries in the establishment European press to give them greater credibility, they often end up first either in the Third World or leftist European press.

Turning now to media manipulation, forgeries are but one example of Soviet efforts to manipulate the media in Western Europe and elsewhere.

The Soviets and their allies place a wide variety of items in the print and broadcast media, using both overt and covert means.

The methods employed include: providing to newspapers at nominal charge a TASS news service ticker; overt cultivation of journalists through friendship, entertainment, and trips to the Soviet Union; publication-for-hire schemes, in which clandestine payments are made to journalists for each item that is published or broadcast. In addition, in many West European countries, the Soviets also have their own networks for distributing Moscow-published books and periodicals.

Moscow's media manipulation activities are coordinated efforts targeted against specific objectives. These campaigns may vary in terms of timeframe, geographic focus, and whether they are offensive or defensive in nature. But they are planned activities, intended to support major Soviet policy objectives.

Some Soviet campaigns are programs that Moscow has conducted for many years. Its decades-long effort to discredit the CIA and to spread disinformation about Western use of chemical and biological weapons are examples.

Other campaigns are tied to major Western policy decisions. The current campaign against SDI is illustrative.

Finally, some of Moscow's efforts are short term and reactive. Often these are defensive efforts to limit damage from developments often unfavorable to Moscow. For example, there is the current Papal assassination trial and the Soviet shootdown of the KAL passenger plane.

While firm data are not available, we believe that the Soviets are less successful in planting items in the mainstream West European media than they are in the Third World, particularly in Africa and South Asia.

[Deleted.]

Mr. GATES. This does not mean, however, that Soviet efforts to insinuate their perspectives into the Western European media have been without success.

In one West European country the financially hard-pressed national news service receives the low cost TASS service. Consequently, it is not uncommon to find TASS items in the [deleted] press, reported as "news" without any commentary.

In another West European country the Soviets have been successful in cultivating several journalists who are conduits for pro-Soviet articles and books.

In Italy, the Soviets have established a large and successful network for distributing Soviet publications, many of which are pub-

lished in Italian. These are sold cheaply and sometimes given away.

While many of these are cultural rather than politically oriented, a recent USIA poll suggested that perhaps as many as 8 percent of the Italian population reads them.

And in Malta, the government-controlled newspapers and television are heavily influenced by the Soviets. Large number of news items, including those about U.S. policies, are TASS items.

Senator PRESSLER. How did they get such a good foothold in Malta? Is it through the Labor Party?

I know they have a foothold in there. How did they exercise control in Malta?

Mr. GATES. Primarily as a result of former Prime Minister Mintoff's desire for closer commercial relations with the Soviets, with ship repair and so on.

Senator PRESSLER. I see.

Thank you.

Mr. GATES. Let me talk for a moment about the use of front groups.

You have a foldout that illustrates some of the front groups in Western Europe. ___

[The illustration referred to follows:]

Forgery

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

Eingegangen 6Z
2 3 NOV 1984

23.10.84 08 37

October 24, 1984

Dear Sirs,

Most probably you are very aware of the fact, that Eastern Bloc countries are eagerly buying these more and more High Technology articles which directly or indirectly can be used by the army, so against the [illegible]

Keeping this in mind and to develop an appropriate marketing and trade policy [illegible] accordance with the political decisions brought [illegible] or cease the export of High Technology products to these countries, we ask for your cooperation in giving us some information of interest:

We would appreciate to receive the list of articles you produce or trade with that are on the COCOM list. We would be particularly pleased if you could indicate the presumable volume of sales to the Warsaw Pact countries and to Austria, Finland and Switzerland. Do you have any idea of what is the volume of your High Technology articles sales through [illegible] and other channels that in the end turn up in Eastern countries?

Secretary Baldrige and I both [illegible] more frequent contacts in the future can offer a closer [illegible] with businesses directly or indirectly engaged in the sometimes slippery East-West trade.

I feel that your contribution might be of further assistance to us in resolving problems emerging from the trade of High Technology articles.

Sincerely,

Clarence J. Brown
Deputy Secretary of Commerce

CJB/gli

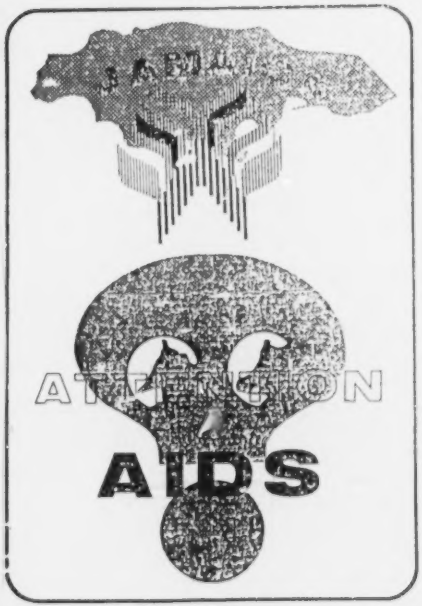
FORGERY

FORGERY

Unclassified

10

Fabrication



Halte à la propagation du SIDA !

C'est à l'ordre du jour. Ce fléau nouveau de l'humanité, connu sous le sigle SIDA (syndrome immuno déficient acquis) a fait aux États Unis plus de 3 500 mille morts et leur nombre croît chaque jour de manière terrible. Les cas du SIDA ont été enregistrés dans 33 pays du monde entier. Hélas, ce ne sont pas seulement les homosexuels, qui sont frappés par cette maladie, parmi les victimes il y a des gens intègres et même des nouveau-nés.

Les malades deviennent des proscrits de la société. la comparaison avec les malheureux, contaminés par la lèpre ou la peste au Moyen Age, n'étant pas exagérée. D'après les recherches scientifiques, le SIDA est une maladie contagieuse d'origine, virale de provenience des États Unis, de la Jamaique et de l'île de Haiti. Les voies de transmission du SIDA sont encore discutées parmi les spécialistes. Il est quand-même sûr que les contacts sexuels ne représentent pas le moment dangereux exclusif. Il se peut que des années passent avant que la maladie ne frappe et le porteur du virus sans malaise peut contaminer des milliers de gens, la maladie se répand comme une avalanche.

Aujourd'hui, faute de mîeux, la seule possibilité de se protéger c'est d'éviter les pays d'origine du SIDA, c'est à dire notamment la Jamaique et l'île de Haiti et d'observer scrupuleusement la code moral courant. De votre part appellez aux gouvernements, institutions scientifiques et églises qu'ils mettent à la disposition des moyen suffisants pour lutter contre l'épidemie en question!

La majorité morale
section allemande

Translation

HALT TO THE SPREAD OF AIDS!

It is on the agenda. This new scourge of mankind known under the acronym AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) has caused more than 3,500 thousand deaths in the United States and their number grows in a terrible manner each day. Cases of AIDS have been recorded in 33 countries of the whole world. Alas, it is not only the homosexuals who are afflicted by this illness; among the victims there are upright persons and even some newborn.

The ill persons are proscribed by society; the comparison with the wretches' infected with leprosy or the plague of the Middle Ages not being exaggerated. According to scientific research, AIDS is a viral disease of contagious origin coming from the United States, Jamaica and the island of Haiti. The methods of transmission of AIDS are still being discussed among the experts. It is, in any case, certain that sexual contacts do not represent the only dangerous aspect. It is possible that years will pass before the disease strikes, and the carrier of the virus, without discomfort, can infect thousands of persons; the disease spreads like an avalanche.

Today, lacking a cure, the only possibility of protecting oneself is to avoid the countries of origin of AIDS, that is, mainly Jamaica and the island of Haiti, and to scrupulously observe the common moral code. On your part, call on the governments, scientific institutions and churches to make available sufficient resources to struggle against the epidemic in question!

The moral majority
German section

Unclassified

Mr. GATES. The activities of Soviet front groups in Western Europe have a long history. Most of the major Soviet-controlled front groups, such as the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Trade Unions and the World Federation of Democratic Youth were established in the 1940's and 1950's. They all have affiliates in Western Europe and most of them have substantial West European representation.

Nevertheless, the hallmark of Moscow's recent approach to front group activity has been flexibility. Heavy Soviet involvement of the anti-INF compaign caused some members of the peace movement to distance themselves from the more obviously Soviet-controlled fronts and Moscow has responded.

In 1983, Moscow apparently dropped its demand that peace groups give unerring support to the Soviet policy line and is encouraging its supporters to join in the formation of broad coalitions, [deleted], even if they criticize the U.S.S.R.

The Soviets appear to be experimenting with ad hoc committees and formums in Western Europe designed to influence non-Communist groups. [Deleted.]

Another element in the evolving Soviet peace strategy is the private peace conference. Such conferences are set up with Soviet assistance by individuals with no tries to governments or peace groups. For example [deleted], industrialists and former government officials participated in a conference organized in 1984 by a West European businessman who derives a considerable portion of his income from trade with the U.S.S.R.

The United States Embassy reported that the Soviet participants included a retired KGB general, the local KGB chief, and a KGB officer under journalistic cover.

These new efforts carry some risks for the Soviets. For instance, when the World Peace Council, as part of its efforts to expand its contacts with the non-Communist peace movement, attended the July 1984 convention of the broad-based European Nuclear Disarmament movement, it was strongly criticized by Western peace groups. Nonetheless, we expect these sorts of activities to continue.

As part of Soviet efforts to exploit the peace issue in order to bring public pressure to bear on United States arms controls positions, diverse Moscow-supported front groups are preparing for a wide variety of activities in Western Europe.

The World Peace Council will sponsor a World Congress for Peace in Copenhagen next year, which will be its contribution to the U.N.'s International Year of Peace.

The Congress, as now planned, would dicuss prevention of an arms race in outer space, and will seek to promote nuclear free zones and a freeze on strategic offensive weapons, two well-known Soviet proposals.

The Dublin Committee, and affiliate of the World Federation of Trade Unions, will convene a conference in Helsinki this fall to publicize the case for converting Northern Europe into a nuclear free zone.

Generals for Peace and Disarmament [deleted], an affiliate of the World Peace Council, is composed of former high-ranking NATO and Warsaw Pact officers, and recently held a press conference in Bonn to release a book that argued against INF deployment.

Let me turn now to manipulation of local Communist parties.

In addition to its networks of front groups, Moscow seeks to use the Communist parties in Western Europe and elsewhere to support its influence programs.

We know, for example, that in recent years local Communist parties in several West Europeon countries were pressured or directed to engage in peace movement activities. Such directives are frequently accompanied by Soviet funding.

While it would much prefer to tap into mainstream media outlets, Moscow also uses local Communist party newspapers and magazines in its efforts to shape opinion.

The Communist Party of Luxembourg is one of the most pro-Soviet in Europe. Its daily newspaper, which is funded by the East German Communist Party, is a regular outlet for Soviet disinformation. [Deleted.]

Senator PRESSLER. Is that read outside of Luxembourg?

Mr. GASTES. I don't think so.

Senator BIDEN. In Luxembourg, is it well known?

Mr. MCLAUGHLIN. Yes, it is well known. [Deleted.]

Senator PRESSLER. But does anybody pay any attention to this paper in Luxenbourg?

Mr. KRINGEN. It matters less that they pay attention to it there than that these things get picked up somewhere else, without [deleted] being attributed to them. They can say that it appeared in the Luxembourg press and can therefore get circulated around the Third World.

Mr. GATES. [Deleted.]

The Soviets once provided convert funding for an Italian Communist Party newspaper in return for more favorable coverage on international affairs. When word of their involvement began to leak out, they stopped the funding.

[Deleted.]

If the local party is not receptive to Soviet guidance and direction, the Soviets often attempt to identify pro-Soviet individuals or groups with whom it can work.

In recent years, the Soviets have tried to develop more friendly leaderships in the several West Eruopeon Communist parties.

In Spain, for example, the Soviets have concentrated their efforts on building a pro-Soviet Communist Party of the Spanish peoples in opposition the Eurocommunist-oriented Spanish Communist Party. [Deleted.]

The apparent objective of the effort is to establish a means of Soviet control over the rather diffuse Spanish peace movement.

Fragmentary evidence suggest that, as with its fronts, Moscow is directing its party allies in Europe to concentrate its energies on SDI. For example, Soviet party and government officials have approached Communist Party officials in at least two West European countries about strategies for attacking SDI.

Turning to the use of international organizations, the U.N. Secretariat and Soviet diplomatic missions——

Senator BIDEN. May I ask you a question first?

That is no surprise to anybody, is it? I mean, the intelligence community knows it, and the public at large. I just came back from Berlin, and Germany, and everybody, the guy at the grocery store

knows, everybody knows that. I mean, whether you walk into a hotel and you are walking upstairs with a guy carrying your bags or you meet with the newspaper editor of the newspaper editor—both of which I did, frequently—just everybody knows that.

Mr. GATES. The activity and Soviet relationship with these Communist parties is, in my judgment, the least surprising aspect of this whole Soviet effort.

What is less well known is the degree to which these groups which, from our perspective here in Washington, may seem insignificant, for example, will become silent partners in major demonstrations or major campaigns. For example, you may hve a church group [deleted] that is unaware of any Soviet or Communist involvement in its activities. It may not be aware that some of the funding for posters and for getting out the crowd and so on may actually have been carried out under the auspices of one of these Communist parties, which otherwise has very little influence of its own.

These Communist parties, in fact, recognize that and attempt in effect to piggyback onto the efforts of more legitimate groups and help fund those and give them more prominence than they might otherwise have.

That really is the only part of the activities of the Communist parties in Western Europe that I think would come under that.

Senator BIDEN. I guess what I am driving at is this.

I am not suggesting that what you are saying is not factual. But I am asking, in a sense, what difference does it make?

Let me put it in another way.

It would worry me a great deal if the Soviet Union were able to manipulate, in the sense that they could change the direction of the thinking of otherwise legitimate groups—the Dutch Church, whomever—in the words, if the Soviets took what was an indigenous initiative and tried to expand it. Do you follow me?

Mr. GATES. I do, Senator. Let me just give you a couple of examples.

In effect, this is kind of the conclusion of our briefing here, but I will go ahead and offer it now.

Where these things matter is where the issue is close or closely contested, and what you have is, in effect, a giant political action committee that is able to run funds and information and support into these campaigns in an area where it could make a difference, where it would not start something or would not provide a decisive edge, but where, if it is close, it could provide the difference.

Let me just give you two examples of where we are very worried that it will make a big difference.

One is on the Dutch decision on the deployment of INF, which is a very close call. [Deleted.]

Senator BIDEN. And has been for 5 years.

Mr. GATES. Yes.

The government is very sensitive to that.

The second is the referendum on Spanish participation in NATO where popular polls generally indicate a slight plurality opposed.

So this activity could provide the margin that could make the difference.

It might not be a large margin, but would be enough.

Senator BIDEN. I apologize for the interruptions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PRESSLER. Not at all. Go ahead, please.

Senator BIDEN. Does it make a difference in the sense that, if I could make a somewhat inappropriate analogy, in the United States, in our campaigns for reelection, let's say my campaign for reelection, if American labor were flush with money and we didn't have the election laws that we have, then they could, at the last minute, pour into my campaign a million dollars. Is that the kind of thing you are talking about?

I guess my question then is if, in fact, everyone in Delaware knew that labor was pouring in a million dollars, it would have a countervailing impact. I have to sit here and think about whether or not the negative impact of people knowing labor put that money into my campaign, or, in your case, the NICPAC put in on your behalf, Larry—I am deliberately picking something that is not so—but if NICPAC put in a half million dollars on your behalf, you would have to sit there and weigh whether that would hurt more than help, as I would have to do the same.

Mr. GATES. I think the key issue is that in many instances they will not know.

Senator BIDEN. OK. That is my last question, then. Is the most important way to deal with this to expose it, that is, expose it not in an exposee sense, that this is something that is so pernicious, but to establish it as a stated fact?

Do you understand what I am saying, what I am driving at?

Mr. GATES. Yes, sir.

Senator BIDEN. You see, when I meet with the Europeans, which my colleague and I do frequently, and have for the last 13 years, they are not at all surprised, whether they are political leaders, business leaders, or labor leaders. None is surprised that the Soviet Union was involved in the funding of the peace movement. In at least an ancillary way, in the way we are talking about it now, it did not surprise anybody.

What they overreacted to and resented was our inclination to characterize it as the peace movement being or having been generated by and the product of Soviet manipulation.

So we lost our credibility in my opinion, when we went over there and yell "the commies are coming."

If we had gone over and said look, you have 10 percent of the people involved in this peace movement in fact funded by Communists, and indirectly, therefore, you are being funded by them, et cetera, but we acknowledge that this is a genuine, spontaneous movement of a portion of an element of the population, then we have much more credibility, I think, to expose it.

But our tendency—and I don't mean you, I am talking about we politicians—we, who take the facts you give us and turn them into policy, we, in my view, try to make it look like—and I think it backfired, though not enough, thank God, to cause us to lose—but we made it look like we were trying to make the bishops and everyone else look like they were the dupes of and in control of the Soviet Union.

Do you understand what I am saying? I am not doubting what you fellows tell me.

I have been on the Intelligence Committee for 8 years, though I am no longer on it now. I do not doubt the numbers. I mean, I sometimes doubt the spin on the ball that we are giving it.

For example, this forgery letter is real, it happened. But, thank God, they don't know how to speak English. This is typically Soviet. Just read the letter.

Now, if there is any educated businessman, but the European businessman is probably not educated enough to understand how badly written this is, but if this landed on my desk, I would look at it and say my goodness, that Deputy Secretary of State must have been a machinist before he took this job.

Mr. KRINGEN. May I say something about this letter?

Seven firms responded to that and gave it a legitmate response.

How this first came to our attention was when the West German Government approached our Embassy to complain about United States Government interference in the West German economy by asking these kinds of things.

Senator BIDEN. Well, I am not suggesting that some do not. But just think of how dangerous they would be if they knew what they were doing.

I mean, really, just think of how dangerous they would be if they could solve the simple problem of having someone literate write the letter. Instead of having 7 out of the however many they were sent to, you would have 70 responding in that case.

The only point I am trying to make is this, and this is something I hope you will take back to your colleagues.

I really think there is a growing consensus here in the Congress. The old-line liberals and the old-line conservatives are, in fact, going to soon become a thing of the past in this outfit, in my view. What you are having emerge is a much more pragmatic group of women and men in both parties, who are much more centrist than we have had in the past as a body, who, in fact, truly do fear the Soviets, who, in fact, really are worried about them, and, in fact, believe we have to have a significant increase in defense and intelligence capability, but also are very much put off by—and this is not what you are doing, this is just to make a point—the chicken-little-sky-is-falling thing—do you understand?

So, I think we have a phenomenal opportunity to set into motion a foreign and defense policy in this country over the next 10 years that is much more in line with the vital interests of the United States than we have had in the past 30 years. The world has changed so damn much, there is going to be a new policy and a whole new ballgame out there.

So, my plea to you is this. As you put the spin on the ball, you are going to get a lot further if you look at the makeup of this body.

I will digress for a minute.

I facetiously said back in 1978, when we had that big thing about the circumstances under which we would send a CIA agent into a domestic operation, a political operation, of a friend. We are in classified session, but I won't go any further than that. But we have, on occasion, wanted to know what was happening even among friends.

I facetiously said to the then-director of covert operations why don't you first send that person into their home congressional district in an election year and have them analyze the outcome of that race and give it to you, and then you could judge their ability to make judgments about what is happening in the European country where you are sending them.

I was being a bit facetious, but not too facetious. The credibility of the agency among that group of people—you go back and look and assess whether I am right or wrong about the changing makeup of the Republican and Democratic Parties of this body—if you can come to the conclusion that I have, that things are much more centrist than they have been as a whole in the past, and there is a real chance for a bipartisan foreign policy here, then you may be more inclined, you in the editorial sense——

Senator PRESSLER. Excuse me, Joe, but I have to leave to vote.

Senator BIDEN. Oh, yes, that is right. Let me conclude.

I guess what I am saying is that this is the time for the soft-sell salesman. Just say these are the facts, and then add the spin that you always add on. I don't mean that in a derogatory sense. I mean "spin" in that you give us an assessment. Just say I think this is what it means. It hurts us marginally, and this is the margin by which it hurts. Otherwise, you will not get people to listen up here.

Do you understand the point I am trying to make?

I am not asking you to accept it, just to understand it.

Mr. KRINGEN. I do understand it, but one contrary point I would raise is what is significant about these activities is not this bit or that bit, but rather the whole situation. You can say the Communist parties don't matter or forgeries don't matter and so forth, but it is the larger context.

Senator BIDEN. But I think they do matter.

Mr. KRINGEN. Let me give one illustration of the kind of problem we recently ran into, which was the allegation that the U.S. Government and the CIA in particular were responsible for the death of Indira Gandhi. Those charges, which surfaced in leftist newspapers, never got really widespread play.

Nevertheless, it caused the Secretary of State to go virtually worldwide to say that it was not true.

Senator BIDEN. I agree with you.

By the way, I am not suggesting that the collective impact of this is not something that we should be concerned about.

If you go back and look at my record on this whole question of infiltration in Europe and the relationships and the effect or impact of them, I am concerned about it.

All I am saying to you is I think in order to get other people up here to look at it and listen to it more, you have to put it into focus.

I would argue that the reason why we did not get more of a response to what the Soviets are doing in the peace movement in Europe is we initially painted it as if, my god, this is a total thing. The administration denied it was an indigenous movement.

You know, Russia could have flipped off the end of the Earth and you still would have had at least 80 percent of those folks still doing what they are doing. It would still be dangerous, very dangerous.

As a matter of fact, it is too dangerous for us to give away the argument when we overstate it like that.

Mr. GATES. Let me skip to the bottom line of this briefing, which was in terms of providing the context that you are talking about, we say, or I was preparing to say, that it is often difficult to determine the precise effects of Soviet political influence activities. Typically, they seek to captialize on existing sentiment within the countries and cause and effect is hard to establish.

Their resources do not guarantee success, but in a close election or legislative battle, they could spell the difference.

These activities are designed to exploit internal conflicts and doubts in the expectation that these will tip public opinion and government policy. They did not create the anti-INF sentiment in Western Europe, but their organizational and financial support for peace demonstrations enlarged the scope of protest activities.

Senator BIDEN. I really have to go upstairs to vote.

Have you voted yet, Claiborne?

Senator PELL. Yes; I have just voted.

Senator BIDEN. Well, I have to leave to vote. I will be right back.

I hope we can write Russian better than they can write English. [Laughter.]

[Pause.]

Senator PELL. Gentlemen, let me wish you good luck. I really do not want to interrupt. I have to meet with Secretary Shultz at 3 p.m. and regret not being able to stay.

Senator PRESSLER. Gentlemen, let us continue.

Mr. GATES. Let me turn now to the Soviet use of international organizations.

The U.N. Secretariat and Soviet diplomatic missions to international organizations continue to be a critical component of Moscow's propaganda and active measures campaigns. The Soviets have already made extensive preparations to exploit the U.N.'s International Year of Peace in 1986 and the 40th anniversary of the United Nations later this year. U.N. Under Secretary General Ustinov, a Soviet National, is responsible for Year of Peace activities; his staff is already soliciting funds and organizing meetings for nongovernmental organizations.

In Geneva, Soviet Ambassador Sytenko, a former U.N. Under Secretary General in charge of disarmaments can be expected to employ Soviet mission and U.N. personnel to promote anti-United States propaganda on arms control issues. For example, a retired Soviet U.N. employee has for some time been organizing the U.N. staff union into "disarmament" groups to endorse the Soviet line.

Additionally, Soviet missions to international organizations continue to provide convenient cover for agent of influence and other covert operations involving West European security issues.

French journalist Pierre-Charles Pathe, an agent of influence, was handled by Soviets assigned to the Soviet delegation to UNESCO in Paris. More recently, Arne Treholt, then a member of Norway's U.N. delegation, passed classified NATO documents to his KGB case officer at the U.N. library in New York.

Turning to agents of influence, the use of agents of influence is one of the most important, and most subtle, instruments of Soviet active measures programs against Western Europe. The task of the

agent of influence is to introduce Soviet policy positions into foreign governmental, business, or intellectual opinion in such a way that it cannot be attributed to Moscow. The successful agent of influence, therefore, is very difficult to detect.

Moscow's ultimate objective is to develop agents of influence at the highest levels of foreign governments. If such agents also engage in espionage, they can provide the Soviets with substantial political leverage by divulging sensitive policy information.

The most recent West European case on record is Arne Treholt, the former Norwegian government official who was convicted this June of espionage.

Treholt gathered information for the KGB from 1974 to 1983, and represented the Norwegian government in negotiations with the Soviets.

Now, let me turn to the West European government response.

In many respects, I think this gets to some of the points that Senator Biden was making.

West European governments, according to United States diplomats, are well aware of Soviet active measures, and their intelligence and security services routinely exchange information on them in regional and international forums.

Nonetheless, West European governments generally have not expelled Soviet officials solely on the basis of their activities and active measures.

A prominent exception was the Swiss closure of the Novosti press office in 1983 because the office drafted the text of the "Swiss Appeal in Favor of Peace and Against Atomic Death," coordinated the collection of signatures, and organized demonstrations in the streets. [Deleted.]

Generally, West European governments have preferred to take indirect actions against Soviet active measures by "leaking" information to the press.

[Deleted.]

West European governments have reacted much more forcefully to other Soviet covert activities—espionage and illegal acquisition of advanced technology. Since 1975, West European governments have been responsible for more than half of all the expulsions of Soviet diplomats worldwide. I might just insert here that over the last 5 or 6 years, some 430 Soviets, KGB officers, have been expelled worldwide.

Between 1981 and 1984, they expelled more than 150 Soviet citizens from Western Europe, including France's public expulsion of 47 diplomats in 1983.

I might call to your attention to the British expulsion of another 25 today.

The reluctance of West European governments to be more aggressive in dealing with Soviet active measures certainly reflects their perception that Moscow's attempts to obtain military and industrial secrets pose the larger threat. But other factors are important as well.

The difficulty in demonstrating the illegality of Soviet political influence activities. There are, for example, no legal prohibitions against West European Communist Party sponsorship of "peace rallies," even if they are funded by the Soviets. The belief that the

West European populations are unlikely to be swayed by Soviet overt propaganda or active measures and that the peace movement would continue even if Soviet manipulation were to cease is another.

Also is the desire not to jeopardize relations with Moscow over activities that many officials consider to be "part of the game."

In terms of overall impact, it is often difficult to determine the precise effects of Soviet political influence activities. Since typically they seek to capitalize on existing sentiment within the countries, cause and effect is hard to establish. The difficulty in tracing the impact of Soviet activities does not mean that there are no effects.

One way to think about Soviet efforts is to think of them as the activities of a giant political action committee. This Soviet political action committee has an impressive set of resources: a large budget; a cadre of experienced campaign strategists and activists; its own massive public relations organization; freedom from any constraints on disclosure of its activities; willingness of those it opposes; and an ability to place covert agents within opposing organizations.

All of these resources do not guarantee success, but in a close election of legislative battle, they can spell the difference.

Soviet political influence activities in Western Europe are designed to exploit internal conflicts and doubts in the expectation that these activities will tip public opinion and government policy in directions favorable to Moscow.

The Soviets did not create the anti-INF movement in Western Europe, but their organizational and financial support for peace demonstrations enlarged the scope of the protest activities and made it more difficult for West European governments to accept INF deployment.

While the Soviet anti-INF campaign did not dissuade the West German, British, and Italian Governments from accepting deployment, the organizational dependence of West European peace groups on Soviet-controlled fronts helped to inhibit strong criticism of Moscow for deploying the SS-20's, giving the INF debate a strong anti-United States flavor.

Soviet forgeries and disinformation activities have been successful in forcing Western governments to respond defensively to their allegations. While Moscow is now experiencing more difficulty in getting its forgeries into the Western press, rarely is a single disavowal sufficient to stop such charges from surfacing again. Moreover, denial of these allegations often serves to give them credibility.

In some cases, all the Soviets are interested in is raising doubt about an issue. In the case of the Soviet campaign regarding the shootdown of the KAL jetliner, the Soviets probably never realistically expected to reverse opinion in their favor, but to create enough public doubt to make it respectable to voice the other side of the issue. And they did that.

Nonetheless, the Soviets are, by no means, "flawless" in the execution of their political influence campaigns. Heavy-handed Soviet efforts to control the peace movement agenda in the INF debate alienated many noncommunist groups, with effects that continue today. And, despite expending much time and effort to influence

West European populaces, the Soviets lost considerable support when they walked out of the Geneva talks in November 1983.

They are now trying to recoup those losses in the current anti-SDI campaign.

In conclusion, let me just say, as I mentioned earlier in the hearing, that there are two areas where the combined effect of these activities cause us considerable worry. First is in the Dutch decision on deployment to be taken later this year. Second is the forthcoming possible Spanish referendum on NATO membership.

It is our view that greater public awareness here and abroad of these kinds of Soviet active measures, the techniques and activities as described in the hearings, will help to inhibit their appeal and effectiveness.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

I have some questions. But first, let's hear the opening statement of our second distinguished guest, who is the Deputy Director of the FBI in charge of the Intelligence Division, Mr. James H. Geer.

[Pause.]

I guess we are not going to hear from the FBI until we finish with your agency. So let me begin with my questions.

Of the $3.5 to $4 billion annually invested by the Soviets in their active measures efforts, how much is spent in Europe or Europe-related efforts? Is the percentage directed toward Europe increasing? If so, why?

Mr. KRINGEN. Those numbers that we have provided are really gross estimates of overall levels of activity. In terms of being able to divide it up in terms of regional focus, I do not think we are in a position to do that.

Senator PRESSLER. Is that the total amount they have spent?

Mr. KRINGEN. That is the total amount they spend on a worldwide basis.

Senator PRESSLER. Which of the many Soviet targets are the most susceptible to manipulation: the peace movements, the media, churches, or public opinion?

You did cover some of that. Specifically, what are we doing to alert these targets at home and abroad to the danger of Soviet active measures.

I did note that in your testimony you said that we would use leaks to the media to expose it.

Mr. GATES. West European governments?

Senator PRESSLER. I am sure when there is a forgery we go ahead and say so?

Mr. GATES. Yes.

Senator PRESSLER. But if it is a hard one, without being negative, that is, to prove it, it is probably hard to respond directly in some cases. Is that right?

Mr. GATES. That is right.

To take the most blatant case, where it is difficult to combat, if you will, the big lie, I think the case that strikes me the most is that of KAL, where there is not a shred of support for the Soviet position of an intelligence mission. Here in the United States the oversight committees have affirmed that fact, and all governments have supported it outside—that is, the allies and so on.

Nevertheless, in the European press, and, closer to home, you nevertheless see a constant stream of articles raising doubts about the nature of that flight. That is one of the more egregious examples.

So, these forgeries, even if denied, continue to have a life of their own, resurfacing elsewhere, perhaps in the Third World or someplace else, once they have long lost their effectiveness in Europe itself.

Senator PRESSLER. In which of our allied states has the greatest damage been done by Soviet active measures, and why?

You cited the upcoming elections on NATO and you have cited the INF.

Mr. GATES. The Dutch basing decision.

Senator PRESSLER. Tell me about the upcoming elections in Spain? When are those elections, roughly, and what is going on? What are the Soviets doing there?

Mr. GATES. In running for office, the now Prime Minister, Gonzalez, pledged to conduct a popular referendum on whether Spain should join NATO. At the same time, Spanish public opinion polls generally indicate a slight plurality against NATO membership.

Senator PRESSLER. I have never seen any Soviet students in the United States or in England who are genuine exchange students. They don't send any real students outside their country, do they, unless they are absolutely sure of them?

Mr. GATES. That's correct.

It is not much of an exaggeration, but the kind of academic exchange that we so often hear about, particularly in the context of technology transfer, is that the United States, for its part, will send a 23-year-old graduate student to the Soviet Union to do research on Pushkin and we will get back a 40-year-old scientist who wants to work at the Stanford Linear Accelerator.

The kinds of students that they send over are very heavily weighted toward science and technology.

Senator PRESSLER. Do they send many students here?

Mr. GATES. Well, "students," we always have to put that in quotes because they all often are much older than what we would consider students to be. They are people in their thirties and early forties. Our view is that they often are intelligence officers or at least report to intelligence officers.

Senator PRESSLER. Do many of them defect when they are over here? Probably not.

Mr. GATES. Mr. Geer would have a better view of that. But my impression is that it is not a very large number.

Senator PRESSLER. How do they get trained people? I mean, to work in the media, you have to be pretty skillful. Of course, it was pointed out by Senator Biden that some of their English translations are not good. I guess Helene von Damm's letter, the forgery there, was in a different kind of German than she would speak, or something like that.

But, in spite of those mistakes, it takes fairly sophisticated, trained, experienced people to work as newsmen or with the media. Where do they train them?

Mr. GATES Well, they have regular schools for journalism. I can say that the training that concerns us is the training in agitation

and propaganda that the Soviets offer. That is the subject for a full course of study in various party schools. There is ample opportunity for these people to get training in how to exploit the Western media, how to use propaganda, and so on.

I am sure that many of them who are not directly employed by the KGB or by the GRU receive ample training from those organizations.

Senator PRESSLER. There is no way to major in journalism, then—or there probably is, but they would get their training with their agency?

Mr. GATES. That's right.

Senator PRESSLER. It has been argued that there is a substantial intelligence threat stemming from foreign nationals hired by the Unites States abroad. For example, in the United States Embassy in Moscow, the United States employs 214 Soviets and the Soviets employ only a handful of Americans in their Embassy in Washington.

Would congressional legislation, such as Leahy's amendment to the authorization bill, be helpful in reducing this threat?

Probably you would not want to comment on specific legislation at this time. But, in general, do you have any comment?

Mr. GATES. Well, I would just say, as a general proposition, obviously having foreign nationals, particularly Soviets, work for us poses a variety of problems. There are different points of view within the government.

Senator PRESSLER. These are the sorts of questions that I would ask Mr. Geer also.

The language in the fiscal year 1985 authorization bill required the Central Intelligence Agency to establish counter-intelligence as a separate career service within the CIA. The intent was to toughen-up the CIA's counter-intelligence activities, without subjecting CIA officials to sanctions from co-workers once they are rotated out of counter-intelligence work back into normal agency activities.

Would such a separate career service be helpful?

Mr. GATES. I really would defer to my colleagues in the clandestine service on that, Mr. Chairman. I don't really know the answer to that.

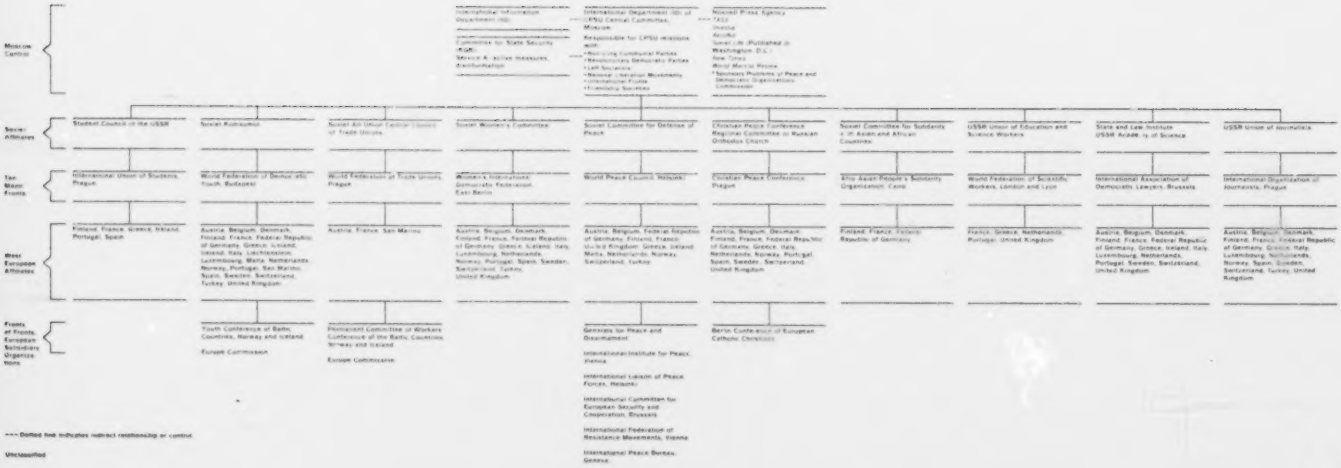
I know that in creating a counter-intelligence analysis capability, in the assessment side of the house, we have established it independent of our Soviet office. We established that independent of the Soviet office so that we could take an independent look at these kinds of counter-intelligence analytical problems, at least from the analytical side, and do so without the people who are doing that feeling like their careers were being judged by the people who do some of the very work that they are assessing for deception and disinformation.

Senator PRESSLER. A recent bill by Senator Roth was directed toward limiting travel within the United States by Soviet nationals.

Would this be helpful?

Mr. GATES. Again, that would be a question more appropriately directed to Mr. Geer. I will only say that the assessments of the nature of Soviet activities in New York, as associated with the United Nation, were the product or were based on work that we

Soviet International Fronts: Spotlight On Western Europe


Moscow Control
Soviet Affiliates
Ties Above Fronts
West European Affiliates
Fronts of Fronts, European Subsidiary Organizations
International Information Department (ID)
Committee for State Security (KGB)
Medical & Active Measures, Disinformation
International Department (ID) of CPSU Central Committee, Moscow
Responsible for CPSU relations with:
• Governing Communist Parties
• Revolutionary Democratic Parties
• Left Socialists
• National Liberation Movements
• International Fronts
• Friendship Societies
Novosti Press Agency
TASS
Izvestia
Pravda
Sovetskaya Rossiya (Published in Washington, D.C.)
New Times
World Marxist Review
• Sponsors Problems of Peace and Socialist Organizations Commission
Student Council of the USSR
International Union of Students, Prague
Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Spain
Soviet Komsomol
World Federation of Democratic Youth, Budapest
Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom
Youth Conference of Baltic Countries, Norway and Iceland
Europe Commission
Soviet All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions
World Federation of Trade Unions, Prague
Austria, France, San Marino
Permanent Committee of Workers Conference of the Baltic Countries, Norway and Iceland
Europe Commission
Soviet Women's Committee
Women's International Democratic Federation, East Berlin
Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom
Soviet Committee for Defense of Peace
World Peace Council, Helsinki
Austria, Belgium, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, United Kingdom, Greece, Ireland, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey
Germans for Peace and Disarmament
International Institute for Peace, Vienna
International Liaison of Peace Forces, Helsinki
International Committee for European Security and Cooperation, Brussels
International Federation of Resistance Movements, Vienna
International Peace Bureau, Geneva
Christian Peace Conference, Regional Committee of Russian Orthodox Church
Christian Peace Conference, Prague
Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Rep. of Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom
Berlin Conference of European Catholic Christians
Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries
Afro Asian People's Solidarity Organization, Cairo
Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany
USSR Union of Education and Science Workers
World Federation of Scientific Workers, London and Leon
France, Greece, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom
State and Law Institute USSR Academy of Science
International Association of Democratic Lawyers, Brussels
Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom
USSR Union of Journalists
International Organization of Journalists, Prague
Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom

--- Dotted line indicates indirect relationship or control

Unclassified

have done and provided to Senator Roth and the Senate Select Committee.

Senator PRESSLER. Gentlemen, I thank you very much. We appreciate your briefing very much.

Mr. GATES. It was our pleasure, sir.

Senator PRESSLER. We will now continue our hearing with the FBI.

Our second distinguished guest is the Deputy Director of the FBI in charge of the Intelligence Division, Mr. James H. Geer.

Mr. Geer entered duty with the FBI as a special agent in May 1964. He served on the investigative staff of the House Appropriations Committee and has supervised the Laboratory Division as well as the Inspection Division.

He served also as section chief of the Intelligence Division before being named Inspector-Deputy Assistant Director of that division, and subsequently as the Deputy Director.

We welcome you here, sir.

Do we now have anyone in the room who is not cleared for this briefing? We are still in a closed session.

Mr. BLITZ. Everyone is cleared, sir.

Senator PRESSLER. All right. Everyone is cleared.

You may begin.

STATEMENT OF JAMES H. GEER, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR INTELLIGENCE, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, ACCOMPANIED BY PHIL PARKER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, INTELLIGENCE DIVISION; JIM MILBURN, SUPERVISORY INTELLIGENCE RESEARCH SPECIALIST; AND BOB MORAN, OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS

Mr. GEER. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have the opportunity to testify before your subcommittee here.

I have prepared a brief opening statement which, if you permit, I would like to go through.

Let me start with some items that you have perhaps covered already in previous testimony.

The term "active measures" is a literal translation of a Russian phrase that is used by the Soviets to describe covert or deceptive intelligence operations designed to advance Soviet foreign policy objectives and discredit the United States.

The Soviets utilize a wide range of techniques and practices in active measures campaigns, including: Forged documents, written and oral disinformation, cover influence or manipulation of the media, use of foreign Communist parties, and the manipulation of a network of international Communist front organizations and their national affiliates.

In the United States, Soviet intelligence officers actively target and seek to cultivate influential American citizens, United States Government officials, journalists, and political activists. Much of this activity is overt in nature, although Soviet intelligence officers are always alert for the opportunity to recruit Americans who are in a position to facilitate or assist Soviet active measures operations.

In addition, Soviet intelligence officers in the United States are responsible for the collection of information, documents, and stationery, which are used in disinformation and forgery operations, and for operations to surface disinformation and forgeries in this country.

The International Department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the assistance of the KGB, directs and clandestinely funds a network of international Communist front organizations and the Communist Party of the United States of America and its front organizations.

These organizations in turn are used by the Soviets to promote Soviet foreign policy views and to spread Soviet propaganda and disinformation to discredit the United States Government.

The Soviet Union relies extensively on the Communist Party of the United States and its front organizations to support Soviet active measures campaigns in the United States.

Front organizations of the Communist Party, U.S.A., tend to be more effective than the Communist Party because they are not as easily identified as opening pro-Soviet or Communist-dominated organizations.

One of the major Soviet active measures campaigns currently underway in the United States and Europe is the Soviet campaign to undermine the United States strategic defense initiative research program.

The Soviets are specifically interested in exploiting disagreements and creating divisiveness between the United States and its NATO allies on this issue. In the United States, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and its front organizations have been directed to undertake operations to influence the activities of independent peace organizations.

One objective of the Soviet campaign is to influence United States and European peace and disarmament organizations to focus only on the American SDI program—or Strategic Defense Initiative Program—while ignoring Soviet strategic defense programs.

One of the most effective Soviet techniques in active measures operations is the use of forged documents.

Several United States Government agencies and officials have been recent targets of Soviet forgeries. Although most of the forged documents surfaced overseas, there have been some recent forgeries which have first surfaced in the United States, such as the forgeries relating to the 1984 Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles. Soviet forgeries have been particularly effective in Europe and Third World countries. The Soviets believe that even when the United States Government issues prompt denials of the authenticity of a forged document, the denial will never entirely offset the damage done by the initial release.

The principal thrust of our investigation of active measures is to identify covert Soviet operations to influence United States Government policies and discredit the United States Government.

Our investigation is principally focused on Soviet intelligence officers, since they are responsible for conducting most covert active measures operations.

The FBI supports United States Government efforts to counter Soviet active measures through our participation in the Inter-

Agency Active Measures Working Group, which is composed of members of the United States intelligence community and is chaired by the United States State Department.

This group regularly issues unclassified reports, studies, and briefings to the American public and to audiences throughout the world to expose Soviet active measures operations.

In addition, the FBI regularly briefs U.S. Government officials and foreign counterintelligence officials from NATO countries on active measures in the United States. In July 1982, FBI representatives testified at a closed hearing of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence concerning active measures in the United States. An unclassified version of this hearing was published in December 1982.

The FBI has prepared four classified studies on various aspects of Soviet active measures since 1982. We are currently preparing another classified report entitled "Trends and Developments in Soviet Active Measures in the United States," which will review and assess overall Soviet active measures in this country during the past 3 years.

You may be assured that the FBI will continue to monitor the operations conducted by the Soviet intelligence services in the United States in order to identify covert active measures operations. The FBI will also continue to work with the U.S. intelligence community to identify and expose these operations.

Mr. Chairman, that concludes my brief statement. I am ready to answer your questions.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

Would you please identify the people who are with you?

Mr. GEER. Certainly.

At my far right is Bob Moran of our Congressional Affairs Office. This [indicating] is Phil Parker, Deputy Assistant Director of the Intelligence Division, for Operations, and this is Jim Milburn, Supervisory Intelligence Analyst from the Intelligence Division, who has worked in the area of active measures.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

It has been argued that the ratio between FBI counterintelligence agents and Soviet agents in the United States has changed dramatically since the 1950's, when they were approximately on par.

Is it true that today the FBI has only 300 to 400 agents working full time on counterintelligence?

Is it also true that the Communist bloc has approximately 4,000 officials in the United States of whom about one-third are trained intelligence agents?

Mr. GEER. The latter figure is correct. There are about 4,000 Soviet bloc officials, and I think the estimate of the percentage that are intelligence officers, known or suspected, is correct.

We do have more than 300 or 400 agents working counterintelligence. [Deleted.]

Senator PRESSLER. News reports have recently indicated that there are approximately 9,500 emigres from Communist countries who work in U.S. defense industries and have security clearances. How vulnerable are they to coercion? What is the United States doing to minimize this danger?

Mr. GEER. We have undertaken in recent times to assess just how vulnerable we are in this area. In looking to identify the emigres who are now employed in that kind of capacity, we have gone back to the cases we originally had in an attempt to update them and determine whether or not any of the people about which we would have that concern might be employed in a defense industry or other sensitive position. That, as I say, is an assessment that is currently underway.

Senator PRESSLER. It has been said that the United States may have a serious problem with "deep plant" Communist bloc illegals who have blended into America and who may not be surfaced for decades to work for their Soviet leaders. It is also argued that by that time they will have achieved important positions of power and influence in the United States.

Are deep plant agents a major threat to the United States?

Mr. GEER. I think it is a threat in the respect that there are certain services that depend on illegals, more than other services. [Deleted.]

So, with a number of emigres, there is a vulnerability. I do not see that as our primary vulnerability or primary threat, however.

Senator PRESSLER. Recent public reports have suggested the FBI involvement in domestic security cases has plummeted from in excess of 20,000 cases in 1973 to only 25 cases in 1985.

Is this statement correct? If so, why has the FBI so greatly reduced its domestic security investigations?

Mr. GEER. I cannot attest that those figures are correct. [Deleted.] One reason for the drop in the number of these cases is that domestic security cases are not supervised in the intelligence division, in all cases.

As to the reason for the decline, I think it was pointed out a number of years ago, and correctly in some cases, that the FBI opened cases in situations where we probably should not have opened them.

[Deleted.]

I do not feel, however, that the Attorney General's guidelines and domestic security guidelines, to which some people attribute this decline, have, in fact, significantly hindered our ability to fulfill our responsibility in this area.

Senator PRESSLER. As I understand it, part of your job is to follow the activities of Eastern bloc diplomats in the United States who are thought to be collecting intelligence.

Mr. GEER. Yes, sir.

We consider that one of our primary jobs.

Senator PRESSLER. Well, that is your primary function, but there are others.

Is it safe to assume that just about any Soviet or Eastern bloc persons who I meet socially or otherwise is a KGB operative collecting intelligence? Is he or she trained, and would he or she not be out socializing unless his government was absolutely sure about him? Is that a safe assumption.

Mr. GEER. I think it is a safe assumption. You quoted a percentage a minute ago that perhaps one-third of the Soviet bloc officials in this country are known or suspected intelligence officers. It is safe to assume that any Soviet you come into contact with has had

discussions with the KGB before his posting to this country. Many of them have been coopted if, for no other reason, than to assess Americans with whom they come in contact for the KGB as likely targets that the KGB could concentrate on.

So, although a great number of them have very legitimate diplomatic missions and interests, I think that this possibility should always be a concern.

Senator PRESSLER. Has the cost of combatting Soviet active measures greatly increased over the past decade? By how much? If there has not been a significant increase in American expenditures, why not?

Of course, this Congress has not appropriated it, but if we had, what would be your response?

Mr. GEER. [Deleted]. Active measures is separate and apart from the issues really that we have been discussing thus far. That is, active measures is separate from the covert collection of intelligence that might be classified information or other sensitive information. Although such information collected might be used in an active measures operation.

However, we do not track active measures as a separate item that we could track through our budget. We track our budget in altogether different ways. So, we could not tie an FBI expenditure strictly to active measures.

Senator PRESSLER. Do you cooperate with other countries' intelligence services inside or outside the United States in your work?

Mr. GEER. Extensively, both inside and outside. A number of the counterparts of the FBI have representatives, nonoperational representatives, assigned to their embassies in the United States. We cooperate with them through that channel as well as directly with the headquarters of the various services.

There is a grat deal of exchange of information through the whole counterintelligence area, and active measures is just one of the areas. One reason is that active measures surface more overseas, in Europe and in Third World developing nations than in the United States.

For example, a KGB officer in the United States may acquire stationery of the Congress of the United States or of the FBI or stationery of the Northrop Corp., and that particular item may, in turn, surface as a forgery in an African nation somewhere.

Senator PRESSLER. Of course, up here, on the Hill, I suppose most of our secrets get leaked to the press by well-meaning people, Senators, staff members or others. Has the Eastern bloc made much of an effort on the Hill?

Do they make much of a covert effort when they can walk in and pick up most of our documents?

Mr. GEER. Yes, sir.

There is a continuing effort. The KGB has a political intelligence branch that focuses on the Congress. The Members of the Congress and the employees of Congress, are certainly targets. These intelligence officers are here to collect political intelligence and they turn up in your open sessions here. Many times you will find a KGB official sitting in the audience of an open session.

Senator PRESSLER. Yes. We were told there were some Romanian tourists or something like that who wanted to come to some of our hearings. I suppose it is almost impossible to keep them out.

Mr. GEER. Yes.

Senator PRESSLER. Certainly it is so under our laws, under our system.

What sort of more discreet methods, other than attending committee meetings, do they use on the Hill?

Mr. GEER. More discreet methods?

Senator PRESSLER. More discreet or different, any kind of method that they may use on the Hill.

Mr. GEER. In attempting to develop contact with someone on the Hill or someone in the business community, a Soviet bloc official would attempt to establish a personal relationship. You may find yourself, or a member of the staff may find himself, invited to a function, a celebration of the Soviet Embassy or at another function where the Soviets or other bloc personnel would be present. You might have a conversation that could get into personal items, or just an exchange of amenities. They will try to assess whether or not they can follow up on this—that is, they will ask themselves, "Did I develop a relationship that is worth trying to pursue?" They might follow up a meeting with a member of the staff by inviting him to lunch the next time at a very nice restaurant, in order to cultivate the staff member.

As I say, many times, though, the KGB is involved in overt collection on Capitol Hill where they pick up as many of the handouts they can get their hands on.

Senator PRESSLER. Well, there is not too much up here that is really secure, except what occurs in hearings such as this.

If Soviet bloc personnel could get a secretary or someone who is in charge of storing classified documents, for example, to cooperate, and if that individual agreed to supply those documents for money or for other compensation, what would be the objective of the Soviet bloc recruiter?

Mr. GEER. I think we have seen in times past and present that this, in fact, can happen to us.

Senator PRESSLER. Is it true that the FBI is not allowed to come to the Hill to interview Capitol Hill employees unless invited, while bloc personnel are not restricted in access except as other U.S. citizens are restricted?

Mr. GEER. No, that is not true.

Senator PRESSLER. So, there are no restrictions on the activities or movements of CIA or FBI personnel on Capitol Hill?

Mr. GEER. We can and do run a physical presence on Capitol Hill if we feel it is necessary.

Senator PRESSLER. Good.

From which Allies is the United States receiving the greatest assistance and cooperation in FBI activities intended to counteract Soviet active measures or to counter bloc country measures?

Mr. GEER. Well, I think it would be our traditional allies—Great Britain, Australia, France, and, to perhaps a less degree, West Germany. We have an excellent exchange, particularly with the other NATO countries.

Mr. MILBURN. I might add, too, that we have briefed many of the West European counterintelligence officials on Soviet active measures in this country. We have also exchanged studies on various aspects of Soviet active measures, such as friendship societies and Communist parties and certain international front organizations that the Soviets fund and direct.

So, particularly in the last 3 years, that has been very effective for us because we are briefed on Soviet operations in Western Europe and they, in turn, through FBI studies and reports, get a very good idea of what the Soviets are trying to accomplish in the United States.

Senator PRESSLER. What about the "students" that are sent over here from the East bloc countries? Do you keep an eye on them? Indeed, are they really students?

Mr. GEER. The answer is, there is a mixture of both. I know that we do keep an eye on them. We do have an interest in them because we know that the Soviets and their allies have utilized this strategy to bring either intelligence officers or coopted intelligence types into this country. We have seen "students" who probably average in their mid-thirties in age. They are a bit older than the students we send over there. They end up coming back to this country in perhaps a diplomatic position at one time or another or as one of their trading company representatives or in some other capacity.

The Soviets are not alone in this. Their bloc allies also use student programs, although I believe to a lesser degree. But, yes, they do use it.

Senator PRESSLER. To what extent can the Pierre-Charles Pathe case of 1979 in France be considered a model for future prosecution of Soviet agents of influence? Was this case a fluke? What other legal resources does the West have in the campaign against disinformation?

Mr. MILBURN. The French have legislation which makes it easier to prosecute a journalist who is caught dealing with the Soviets and cooperating with the Soviets in terms of printing articles for them. It is very difficult to identify and prosecute U.S. journalists who may be Soviet agents. First, it is difficult to detect that individual, and second, to prosecute him because, quite frankly, he can meet openly with Soviet officials in connection with his profession.

The only time the FBI would be in a position to act would be if he were dealing with trade craft or if he were accepting money, and we could catch him in the act.

Many times, because it does not involve classified material, there is no espionage violation in these cases. It is more or less that he is acting as an agent for a foreign power, which is under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and it is extremely hard to prosecute anybody under that legislation.

[Deleted.]

Also Pathe admitted his involvement with the KGB which helps. If we were to find out about a U.S. journalist who is a KGB agent and we would confront him and he would admit it, there would be a chance for some form of prosecution in this country. But, it is very difficult to detect.

Senator PRESSLER. What about Eastern bloc or Soviet personnel who do infiltrate journalistic or church organizations here in the

United States? I don't understand the activities of some of these church organizations. They are the best-intended people in the world. Yet, they sometimes act as if they have been brainwashed. Does the Soviet bloc attempt to influence them?

Mr. GEER. That is true, sir.

It is not peculiar to the church organizations. Anything that sounds like something that a lot of us might be associated with in one way or another—it might be a youth organization, it might be a women's organization, it might be a peace organization—with very legitimate goals and very legitimate people pursuing those goals is susceptible. The Soviets, in their active measures campaigns, are successful in operating front organizations, because the members of these fronts are good organizers and good activists.

I don't think we are at the point where we would ever say that the Soviets control completely a particular demonstration in New York, or a meeting in Kenya. However, they get into a position to influence as best they can the particular goals and activities of organizations and movements in line with Soviet national policy. That is, their goal is to attack the strategic defense initiative or the intermediate range nuclear forces in Europe, and those are the kinds of organizations they use to try to drive this wedge between the United States and its NATO allies.

[Deleted.]

Mr. MILBURN. I might add that the Soviets have a very active international front organization, the Christian Peace Conference, which, unlike some other international front organizations, tries as much as possible to maintain some distance from the hard-line Soviet attitudes.

The Christian Peace Conference works through an affiliate in the United States and tries to cooperate with church groups in this country and throughout the world. [Deleted.]

Senator PRESSLER. What kind of people head up that Soviet affiliate of their international front organization, the CPC? Well-meaning people who have no idea what is going on?

Mr. MILBURN. It is a mixture. Some people cooperate very closely with the Communist Party U.S.A. and the CPC, knowing what it is, and others are more or less unwilling.

[Deleted.]

Mr. GEER. As Jim says, the Soviets have done their best to keep their distance from the known front organizations and from the Communist Party of the United States itself. We do have assets and we could track to some point the flow of funds which comes directly through the KGB itself into the Communist Party of the United States and then is distributed beyond that.

This front organization affiliate of the CPC is a mixture of well meaning people and people who intend to exert influence on the Soviet's behalf. [Deleted.]

Mr. MILBURN. This Soviet front affiliate sets up international conferences, and they invite United States religious figures to the Soviet Union. [Deleted.]

Senator PRESSLER. Did the recent defection of the chief of West German intelligence operations cause great difficulties for the United States here at home?

Mr. GEER. If you are speaking as it relates to the FBI or FBI cases, no, it did not. He would not have been in a position to be aware of any sensitive cases that we might be involved in.

Senator PRESSLER. Language in the authorization bill for fiscal year 1985 required the CIA to establish counterintelligence as a separate career service within the CIA. Are the CIA's counterintelligence activities strictly outside the country or can that ever be inside the country?

Mr. GEER. Theirs is strictly outside the country.

If we ran into a difficult situation—the FBI as the coordinator of counterintelligence inside the country, could ask for their assistance; but, as a practical matter, usually we would not have any reason to do that.

Yes; the CIA is responsible for coordination outside the United States.

Senator PRESSLER. Does the FBI talk to Americans reportedly hired by the Soviet Union or Eastern bloc countries who work in their embassies? Do you have any control over that?

Mr. GEER. We do not have all that many Americans working for the Soviets. However, I think it would be prudent for us on any occasion, as a technique of keeping up with the Soviets' activities, to talk with these employees.

Senator PRESSLER. Do we do that regularly?

Mr. PARKER. We would talk to any employee of any block embassy or establishment in the United States who is a U.S. citizen. Quite often, though, these are people who are not too prone to talk to the FBI if they pass the Soviet criteria for employment, one of which would be an unfavorable attitude toward the FBI.

Mr. GEER. Also, you are not going to find, unlike in the American Embassy in Moscow, where you may have a Soviet employee in a very key position, any Americans in very key roles in Eastern bloc embassies.

Mr. PARKER. The number is extremely limited.

Mr. GEER. Yes.

Senator PRESSLER. What about Eastern bloc travelers and tourists in the United States? We know that they cannot pick up much intelligence, but should we be limiting their activities? Should we limit domestic travel by Soviet nationals.

Mr. GEER. Should we be limiting travel? Well, if you are speaking about travel by visiting scientific delegations or business groups, they use that method to bring in intelligence officers the same as they would use diplomats at the embassy or the consultate. Eastern bloc officials would also use the student program. That certainly is one of their collection techniques.

As to limiting the number of scientific, business, or cultural delegations or sports teams—and they have used them all—that is sort of out of our baliwick, so to speak.

We would advise State and give them our best assessment of what happens. However, that would not be our decision.

Senator PRESSLER. What kind of training do your agents have to have? Are your people called FBI counterintelligence agents? What kind of training or background do you have to have to become an FBI counterintelligence agent?

Mr. GEER. Our people are all FBI agents. We have some who specialize in counterintelligence. When someone comes into the FBI, he is trained as an agent, regardless of where he might ultimately end up—in organized crime, white collar crime, or counterintelligence. They all receive the same basic training.

As a general statement, when an agent is assigned to one of our field divisions, he tends to start out in the criminal area. That, we feel and continue to feel, is the best way to train him as an investigator, to get him out on the street and let him develop his investigative abilities and work on his investigative techniques. At some point in time, a portion of those people are going to be, I hope, selected, instead of drafted, to work in the counterintelligence area.

When we move them into the counterintelligence area, we give them a basic counterintelligence training course of about 3 weeks in duration. Then they go back to their office of assignment and they work in the counterintelligence area for a number of years.

All along, we try to keep them in the counterintelligence side. We try to develop them, once they have had their basic training and have done work in the area, by bringing them back for specialized training, maybe double-agent operations, maybe recruitment operations or the development of assets.

Throughout their careers, we try to continue to provide them with that kind of training

I am not aware that we have a significant problem in that regard. [Deleted.]

Also, we have offices where we have a waiting list of very capable agents who want to work in foreign counterintelligence.

Senator PRESSLER. I believe that we have covered the subject of the hiring of foreign citizens. What about the problem of journalists? That is such a touchy area. If someone poses as a journalist and wants scientific information or something of that sort, how can you possibly trace that down?

Mr. GEER. I am not sure that I understand the question.

Senator PRESSLER. Is one of the most effective ways that the Soviet bloc has of collecting intelligence in the United States the use of those who pose as legitimate journalists with proper credentials?

Mr. GEER. Well, no. They use their media organs. They use TASS, they use Novosti, they use Izvestia, they use Pravda as covers for the assignment of intelligence officers the same as they use their establishments. However, I don't rank that as any more difficult an area than I do anything else.

Mr. PARKER. The Soviets obtain classified material through their normal development of agents. The fact that a Soviet intelligence officer is a journalist does not give him any particular advantage in obtaining classified data over, say, a second secretary. It is still the development of human sources that is the major way they obtain that information.

Senator PRESSLER. Have they made any major efforts at disinformation campaigns within the United States or forgery campaigns within the last couple or 3 years?

Mr. GEER. Yes.

One was during the Los Angeles Olympics. There was a letter sent out to a number of African nations and a number of Asian na-

tions that was allegedly from the Ku Klux Klan. They threatened harm to the athletes from those countries if they participated in the Olympics.

There were racial slurs involved—what one might expect, perhaps, from the Ku Klux Klan. However, in fact, we were convinced, based on our analysis of the letters, the linguistic and other laboratory analyses, that these were a Soviet active measures effort. It was certainly right in line with their position. The Soviets were not participating and the reason they gave for not participating was that the United States was not in a position to protect their athletes.

Another example of an active measure, a forgery, concerned my predecessor in this position, Mr. O'Malley.

A letter surfaced a couple of years ago that was written from Ed O'Malley as Assistant Director of Intelligence to the special agent in charge of our Chicago office. It directed the Chicago office to surveil members of the Chicago Roman Catholic Archdiocese, including Cardinal Bernardin. Nothing could have been further from the truth. The perpetrator, which we believe was the KGB, seized on that issue probably because Cardinal Bernardin had been the head of the committee that came up with the policy on banning nuclear weapons that the Catholic bishops endorsed. This fit their plan to drive a wedge between the United States and NATO on such things as the strategic defense initiative or other matters.

Those are two incidents that come to mind.

Mr. MILBURN. An interesting note about that, too, is that not long after the 1982 hearings on active measure were released, there was a lot of press play about the FBI's role in investigating active measures and active measures in the peace movement. It received a lot of play in early 1983, and then this forgery came out shortly thereafter. [Deleted.]

Of course, O'Malley's name was finally mentioned in the testimony, so it was probably a planned action on the part of the Soviets to exploit the current issue.

Mr. GEER. There was another one that surfaced. It surfaced not in the United States, but it purportedly was the text of a speech that Mrs. Kirkpatrick had made at the time she was Ambassador to the United Nations. In that speech, she allegedly recommended the "Balkanization" of India. She did not even make a speech at that particular conference, and there was no question in our mind but that that was a Soviet measure. The forgery received a great deal of press, world press. Even though the United States denies these things, they may still have some effect. I think the first two, the Attorney General and the KKK letters, resulted in immediate denials; they were identified as Soviet forgeries. That was also done in the letter, the forgery of a letter from Mr. O'Malley to the Chicago SAC. However, the latter letter did get some play in the world press, even though it was denied as a forgery. In the Third World, it did get some play.

Senator PRESSLER. Well, I thank you very, very much. I think we have covered all of the questions we have here now. Other Senators may have written questions for you.

Mr. GEER. We would be pleased to respond, Senator.

Senator PRESSLER. I would hope that at some future point we could get a declassified report of this, or a sanitized version. We would like to include it as part of seven hearings that we are having on this subject. I think you may have been competing for attendance with the Secretary of State this afternoon, who is upstairs. Nevertheless, we had a good hearing and we thank you very, very much.

Mr. GEER. We were pleased to cooperate.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

We are adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:10 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1985

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met at 10:05 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Larry Pressler (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Pressler and Pell.

Senator PRESSLER. I shall call this hearing to order.

This is the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

We are pleased to welcome you to this third session of our series of seven hearings on United States-European relations.

The overall title of the series is a provocative one: "Is NATO Still the Centerpiece of U.S. Foreign Policy? Should It Be? '

We hope you will join us, as our committee grapples with a number of very important issues in advance of the United States-Soviet summit.

A complete schedule of the issues to be discussed, including the dates and times, is available next door, in room 415. Copies of prepared materials and statements are also available in room 415.

I believe that many of the issues most crucial to the United States and our European allies through the 1990's, whether they are bilateral, NATO-related, or East-West, will be examined in these seven sessions.

We look forward to rigorous analysis and thought-provoking questioning. We also hope that many of our guests will carry these discussions further among our fellow citizens, in the media, in foreign capitals. and in academia.

The title of this morning's session is "Soviet Active Measures." Our discussion will focus on the political and social means by which the Soviets foster their strategy outside the purely military realm. It will include a discussion of front organizations and targets in the West, including the peace movements, the church, the media, journalists, parliaments, mass public opinion, trade unions, and youth groups.

We are fortunate to have an impressive group of witnesses this morning, led by two senior officials of the U.S. Information Agency and the U.S. State Department. Joining them will be the USIA-State Department briefing team on Soviet active measures.

The appearance of this briefing team here today in the United States is quite unusual, because their task is the briefing of senior foreign officials, heads of state, and ambassadors abroad.

Once the United States Government briefing is concluded, we will be fortunate to hear two witnesses from Polish-American organizations that have been targeted by Moscow and subjected to severe harassment and intimidation in the United States. I hope that you can all stay to hear how our United States citizens have been victimized by the Soviets right here in the United States.

Our first witness is Mr. Stanton H. Burnett. He is the Counselor of the U.S. Information Agency.

Mr. Burnett has a Ph.D. in political science from the New School of Social Research, and has a long and distinguished career at USIA. He has served in Rome and Brussels, and has been the Director of the Washington Office of Research and Evaluation, and Area Director for European Affairs at USIA.

Welcome, Mr. Burnett. We look forward to your testimony.

Mr. BURNETT. Thank you very much, Senator.

Just for orderliness in the way we are going to make our presentation, may I ask that Mr. Thorne precede me because I am going to make the immediate introduction of the briefing team.

Senator PRESSLER. All right.

Let me say that we welcome you, Mr. Thorne. Mr. Thorne is the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Coordination of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the State Department.

Mr. Thorne has an M.A. in history from Catholic University and has served in the State Department for 34 years. His previous post was Deputy Assistant Secretary of Assessments and Research.

STATEMENT OF C. THOMAS THORNE, JR., DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR COORDINATION, INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. THORNE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am pleased to be here today and appreciate the opportunity to discuss with the subcommittee——

Senator PRESSLER. Please pull the microphone very close to you.

Mr. THORNE [continuing]. The aspect of Soviet clandestine activities which attempt to influence world public opinion, that is to say, active measures.

I would first like to give a very brief overview of the topic itself and then describe, also briefly, what we, in the executive branch, are doing about it.

The term "active measures" is a literal translation from a Russian phrase for which there is no precise English equivalent. Perhaps the term that was used during World War II by the British, "political warfare," or our own term, "psychological warfare," would come somewhat close to it.

The term is also the name which is given to Service A, which is the organization in the KGB's First Chief Directorate, which is the overseas intelligence arm of the KGB.

Senator PRESSLER. Repeat that, please.

Mr. THORNE. The name "active measures" is the term which is also used as a designator for the Service A, which is the organiza-

tion in the KGB's foreign intelligence directorate which is responsible for the covert aspect of these activities.

Senator PRESSLER. They call it Service A?

Mr. THORNE. Yes, sir.

As the Soviets use the concept, "active measures" covers a broad range of covert activities and deceptive practices, including the spreading of false or misleading information, media manipulation, use of local Communist parties, Communist front groups, agents of influence, and other operations which are aimed at promoting Soviet foreign policy goals while undercutting those of Moscow's opponents.

Active measures involve an element of deception and use clandestine means to mask Soviet involvement in the particular area.

[Interference in sound system.]

Senator PRESSLER. Perhaps if we move the microphones around a little bit, we will not have these technical difficulties.

Please move that microphone away from you, in the opposite direction?

[Microphones switched; interference ceases.]

Mr. THORNE. Active measures involve an element of deception and use clandestine means to mask Soviet involvement.

Intelligence operations and propaganda can generally be grouped into three categories: "white," "black," and "gray."

"White" operations are openly attributed and refer to acknowledged Government positions, policies, and statements. These would include, for example, diplomatic, trade, and open informational programs.

"Black" operations are falsely attributed, and these could include, for example, the planting of——

Senator PRESSLER. Pull the microphone closer.

Mr. THORNE. Yes—the planting of false stories.

Senator PRESSLER. Are those "black" operations?

[Pause.]

Mr. THORNE. "Black" operations are falsely attributed operations; that is, they involve the planting of false stories and the circulation of forged documents, and also broadcasting. Another example would be the broadcasting of radio programs from clandestine transmitters.

"Gray" operations would fall somewhere in between. These would include, for example, the use of front groups, local Communist parties, or some form of media manipulation.

Active measures typically involve "gray" or "black" operations that may be associated in one way or another with——

Senator PRESSLER. Now, active measures involve "gray" or "black" operations? Well, then, what about "white" operations?

Mr. THORNE. Typically they would. But they would be in some way associated with or supportive of more open operations.

Senator PRESSLER. What are "white" operations?

Mr. THORNE. Those are openly attributed propaganda or information, statements, diplomatic actions, and so forth.

Senator PRESSLER. All right.

Mr. THORNE. One example of "white" operations in support of "gray" or "black" would be, for example, Soviet media replaying a

forgery that originally surfaced in a non-Communist publication or in a non-Communist broadcast.

Soviet active measures were first noted in the 1920's, when Moscow attempted to discredit emigre groups in Western Europe by spreading disinformation and attempting to lure emigres back to Russia through various subterfuges. Indeed, the Soviets did not invent these tactics; actually, they had previously been used even under the tsarist governments and in the preceding era.

The Soviets built upon and expanded these activities after World War II, when they established a disinformation department, known as Department D, within the KGB's First Chief Directorate, the overseas intelligence arm.

This was upgraded to the status or the bureaucratic level of a service, and became Service A in the mid 1970's.

The United States was targeted at that time with an upsurge of active measures frequently involving forged documents. At that period, a number of these were directed against United States Middle East policy, especially the United States-Egyptian relationship and the Camp David peace process.

I might also point out that we contend not only with active measures from the Soviets, but also active measures operations from other services allied to the Soviets, all of which have organizations which parallel the KGB's Service A.

We believe that, when expedient, the Soviets integrate their active measures activities with those of other bloc intelligence services.

Western Europe, which is the area of concern to us here today, is obviously a major target for Soviet activity. But, at the same time, it poses some very specific problems for Soviet active measures.

Western Europeans form one of the world's most sophisticated and literate audiences, and, in Western Europe, one can find some of the best professional journalists and media.

They are not often easily fooled by what are frequently clumsy attempts that are often the hallmark of active measures elsewhere, and most Western Europeans are also able to discern blatant Communist use of front groups.

The Soviets, however, have had considerable success with certain key agents of influence—for example, the Treholt case in Norway, and there have been other cases, such as the Guillaume case in West Germany and the Pathe case in France which come to mind.

The Soviets have also sought to influence non-Communist European peace and disarmament groups along lines favorable to Soviet interests.

The principal target of Soviet active measures in Europe in recent years has been the NATO alliance, specifically the 1979 alliance decision to place intermediate range nuclear forces, the INF, in Western Europe in response to the Soviet SS–20 deployment.

Related active measures have included major peace campaigns by Soviet front groups, the attempted manipulation of European media, and the surfacing of major forgeries.

More recently, the space defense initiative, or SDI, has become a major Soviet target for active measures, and the front groups have become extremely active in this field.

Despite the massive human and material resources devoted to active measures, Soviet effectiveness in this area over the years has been uneven.

Numerous active measures operations have been exposed both in the West and in the Third World and have generated considerable negative publicity, although some campaigns, particularly in developing countries, have significantly tarnished the U.S. image.

But, in attempting to come to an overall assessment, one should also view active measures through Soviet and not only through American eyes. As defectors have often pointed out to us, the Soviets take a long-term view, and are not necessarily seeking immediate gains or a big impact from any one operation. They regard active measures as pawns in a chess game that are able to damage opponents at the margin and perhaps open the way for larger gains at a later time. They seem satisfied that the cumulative impact of active measures makes their considerable investment worthwhile.

I'd like to say a few words also about how the United States Government deals with ongoing Soviet active measures.

In the last 5 or 6 years, the U.S. Government has taken a number of steps to improve our ability to counter active measures.

In 1981, we established an interagency working group under the direction of the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, with participation by regional and functional bureaus in the State Department as well as by the Defense Department, DIA, CIA, ACDA, the FBI, NSC, and the USIA. The purpose of this group is to identify and actively follow Soviet active measures worldwide.

Senator PRESSLER. This group works against active measures internationally, but not inside the United States?

Mr. THORNE. Yes, sir, the interagency working group is primarily concerned with international activities.

At these meetings, group members share information and analysis about active measures and what their individual organizations are doing about them.

The aim is to counter active measures through a strategy of educating governments, the media, and public opinion as a whole.

As part of this strategy, the working group has published about 20 or so unclassified reports on active measures-related topics and has coordinated a number of sessions with interested journalists that have resulted in highly useful pieces in the media. Working group members have visited over 20 foreign countries to sensitize our embassies and foreign governments on the active measures problem. And we have embarked on a campaign to insure that all of our overseas posts are attentive to suspected active measures and are able to counter Soviet efforts quickly.

Posts now have a priority requirement, for example, to report possible forgeries that appear in the press or that are circulated privately among influential foreign leaders and opinion makers.

We plan to devote more manpower and funds to this effort, increase our flow of publications, and improve our analytical capabilities in this area.

We hope these actions will encourage journalistic and academic investigation of active measures.

We are also attempting to develop a greater preemptive capability by anticipating future active measures campaigns that are linked to upcoming events—for example, future meetings of front groups or the Geneva arms talks and so on.

Through increased sensitization of government, media, and public opinion to the active measures problem we can make them more costly for the Soviets and decrease their effectiveness over time. As former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Eagleburger wrote in 1983: "Soviet active measures need to be countered by public exposure. They are infections that thrive only in darkness and sunlight is the best antiseptic."

That concludes my formal statement, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much.

[Mr. Thorne's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF C. THOMAS THORNE, JR.

Mr. Chairman - I am pleased to be here today and appreciate the opportunity to discuss with the Subcommittee the aspect of Soviet clandestine activities which attempts to influence world public opinion--active measures. I would first like to provide a brief overview of the topic itself and then describe what we in the Executive Branch are doing about it.

Overview

The term active measures itself is a literal translation from the Russian "aktivnye meropriyatiya" (ack-tive'-nee-ye mir-oh-pre-ya'-tya). That is the name given to Service A, the organization in the KGB's First Chief Directorate (the Soviet overseas intelligence arm) responsible for the covert element of these activities. As the Soviets use the concept, active measures covers a broad range of covert activities and deceptive practices including spreading false or misleading information, media manipulation, the use of local communist parties, communist front groups, agents of influence, and other operations aimed at promoting Soviet foreign policy goals while undercutting those of Moscow's opponents.

Active measures involve an element of deception and use clandestine means to mask Soviet involvement. Intelligence operations and propaganda can generally be grouped into three categories; white, black, and gray. White are openly attributed and refer to acknowledged government positions, policies, and statements. These include diplomatic, trade, and informational programs. Black operations are falsely attributed; they may include planting false stories, surfacing forgeries, and broadcasting radio programs from clandestine transmitters. Gray affairs fall somewhere in between and include the use of front groups, local communist parties, or media manipulation. Active measures typically involve gray or black operations that may be associated with open Soviet propaganda. An example of this would be Soviet media replaying a forgery or media placement surfaced originally in a non-communist outlet.

Soviet active measures were first noted in the 1920s when Moscow attempted to discredit emigre groups in Western Europe by spreading disinformation and attempting to lure emigres back to Russia through various subterfuges. (The Soviets did not invent these tactics but borrowed and refined them from their tsarist predecessors, who actively attempted to sow dissent among leftist emigres and also gave covert subsidies to produce favorable publicity for the imperial government.)

The Soviets built upon and expanded these activities after the second World War when they established a disinformation department - Department D - within the KGBs First Chief directorate. It was upgraded into a Service -- Service A -- in the mid 1970s and placed under the direction of a KGB general. America was targeted with an upsurge of active measures, frequently involving forged U.S. documents, often directed against the U.S. - Egyptian relationship and the Camp David process.

I should also point out that we contend not only with active measures from the Soviets, but also with active measures operations from other services allied to the Soviets, all of whom have organizations which parallel the KGB's Service A. We believe that when expedient, the Soviets integrate their active measures with those of other bloc intelligence services.

Western Europe, the area of concern to us here today, is obviously a major target for Soviet activity but at the same time poses some very specific problems for Soviet active measures. Western Europeans form one of the world's most sophisticated and literate audiences and includes some of the finest professional journalists and media. They are not easily fooled by the often clumsy attempts that are hallmarks of active measures elsewhere, although sometimes the Soviets try them

anyway. Most Western Europeans are also able to see through blatant communist use of front groups, which have, in our opinion, had only limited influence on governmental policy and public opinion. The Soviets, however, have had considerable success with certain key agents of influence - the Treholt case in Norway - and other cases in West Germany (specifically Guillaume), France (Patne), and Denmark (Pedersen) come to mind. They have also sought to influence non-communist European peace and disarmament groups along lines favorable to Soviet interests.

The principal target of Soviet Active Measures in Europe in recent years has been the NATO alliance, specifically the 1979 NATO decision to place intermediate range nuclear forces (INF) in Western Europe in response to the Soviet SS-20 deployment. Related active measures included major peace campaigns by Soviet front groups, attempted manipulation of European media, and the surfacing of major forgeries in Austria and Denmark. More recently the Space Defense Initiative (SDI) has become a major Soviet target for active measures and the front groups have taken the offensive.

Despite the massive human and material resources devoted to the creation and execution of active measures, Soviet effectiveness over the years has been uneven. Numerous active measures operations have been exposed both in the West and in the Third World and have generated considerable negative publicity, although some campaigns, particularly in developing countries, have significantly tarnished the U.S. image. But in attempting to come to an overall assessment, we must view active measures through Soviet and not only through American eyes. As defectors have often pointed out to us, the Soviets take a long term view and are not necessarily seeking immediate gains or a big impact from any one operation. They regard active measures as pawns in a chess game that are able to damage opponents at the margin and perhaps open the way for larger gains at a later time. They seem satisfied that the cumulative impact of active measures makes their considerable investment worthwhile.

What We Are Doing

How should the U. S. Government deal with the ongoing Soviet and Soviet bloc active measures? In the last five or six years, the U.S. Government has taken a number of steps to improve our ability to counter active measures. In 1981, we established an interagency working group under the direction of the Department of

State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, with participation by regional and functional bureaus within State as well as Defense, DIA, CIA, ACDA, FBI, NSC, and USIA to identify and actively follow Soviet active measures worldwide. At these meetings, the group members share information and analysis about active measures and what their individual organizations are doing about them.

Our aim is to counter active measures through a strategy of educating governments, the media, and public opinion as a whole.

--As part of this strategy the working group has :

1) published 20 unclassified reports on active measures-related topics, and more are underway

2) coordinated numerous sessions with interested journalists that have resulted in highly useful pieces appearing in domestic and foreign media,

3) sent working group members to over 20 foreign countries to sensitize our Embassies, foreign governments and media, and

4) embarked on a campaign to ensure that all our overseas posts are attentive to suspected active measures and are able to counter Soviet efforts quickly. Posts now have a priority

requirement to report possible forgeries that appear in the press or are circulated privately among influential foreign leaders and opinion makers.

--We plan to devote more manpower and funds to this effort, increase our flow of publications, more aggressively pursue media contacts, and improve our analytical capabilities. We hope these actions will encourage journalistic and academic investigation of active measures.

--We are attempting to develop a greater preemptive capability by anticipating future active measures campaigns linked to upcoming events, i.e. future meetings of front groups, the Geneva nuclear and space arms talks, etc.

--Through increased sensitization of government, media, and public opinion to active measures we can make them more costly for the Soviets and decrease their effectiveness over time. As former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Larry Eagleburger wrote in 1983:

> "Soviet active measures need to be countered by public exposure. They are infections that thrive only in darkness and sunlight is the best antiseptic."

This concludes my formal statement. I will do my best to answer any questions you may have about the subject.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.
Now, Mr. Burnett.

STATEMENT OF STANTON H. BURNETT, COUNSELOR, U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Thorne indicated that the Department of State coordinates the Inter-Agency Working Group on Soviet Active Measures. USIA serves in that working group.

USIA posts abroad are often the first U.S. Government people to be aware of forgeries or disinformation. Posts abroad inform USIA, the Section for Policy Guidance, and are provided with data to expose the forgeries. USIA distributes U.S. Government publications on active measures and uses the Voice of America, the Wireless File, TV, and the Foreign Press Center to counter forgeries and other active measures.

We are also active in the briefing team that is about to appear. This team travels overseas to brief host governments and press on this subject.

I can vouch for my own experience of their effectiveness.

Today we are presenting a team to provide the same briefing to this committee that we use overseas.

Mr. Chairman, the team consists of Lucian Heichler of the State Department; he is a Foreign Service officer who serves as Chairman of the Inter-Agency Working Group on Active Measures, and who leads the briefing team, and Herbert Romerstein, of USIA, who coordinates our Agency's activities to counteract Soviet active measures. He came to USIA 2 years ago, after serving as a professional staff member for the U.S. House of Representatives. From 1978 to 1983, he was with the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Mr. Romerstein is the author of a number of writings on intelligence and international affairs.

Finally, on the team is Dewitt Copp, who is a USIA officer, who serves as Policy Officer on Soviet Disinformation. Mr. Copp recently joined the USIA staff after serving as an editor at the Voice of America. He is the author of a number of books on international affairs and military history.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PRESSLER. Good.

We welcome our witnesses and they may proceed in any way that they wish, now that our microphones seem to finally be working.

STATEMENT OF HERBERT ROMERSTEIN, COORDINATOR, USIA ACTIVITIES TO COUNTER SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for the opportunity to give you this briefing that we normally give overseas.

Senator PRESSLER. This is the first time this briefing is being formally given in this country, isn't it?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir, we do brief individual press people when they request information; this is the first time it is being given in public.

Senator PRESSLER. Great.

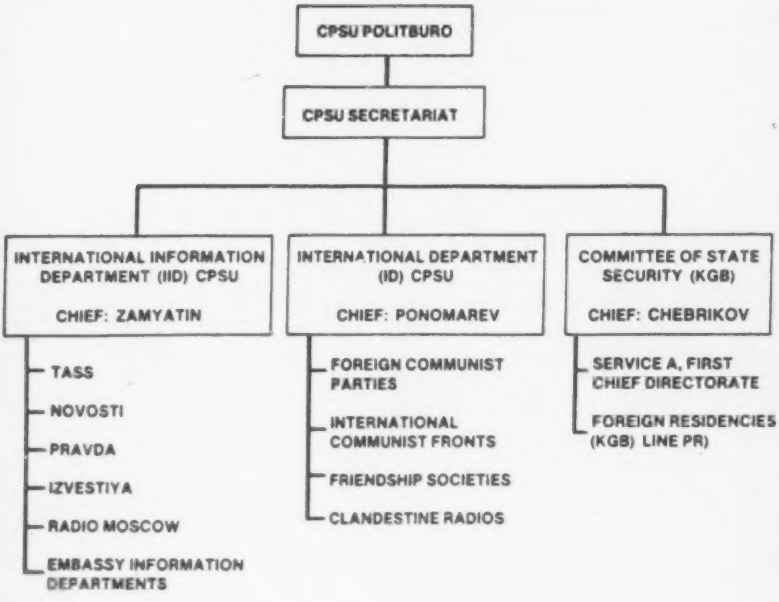
Mr. ROMERSTEIN. As was indicated before, "active measures" is the term that the Soviets use for their influence operations, which range from covert operations done by KGB to overt operations done by their propaganda apparatus, and in between are the gray operations, the sort of lightly concealed operations of the international Soviet front and of those Communist parties in the West controlled by the Soviet Union. We have a chart if there is a copy up there—that had been prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and updated by us of the Soviet organizational structure for active measures.

Senator PRESSLER. Yes; that's right.

[The charts referred to follow:]

CHART 1

SOVIET ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE FOR ACTIVE MEASURES



Senator PRESSLER. Pull the microphone a little closer and talk right into it.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

The Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union makes the decisions as to what the policies are of the Soviet Government and party apparatus. Those decisions are then carried out in the active measures field by three Soviet elements: The KGB, which does the covert work, the black operations; the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which does the gray operations—it controls the fronts, and in addition it controls those communist parties loyal to the Soviet Union; and the white operations, the public propaganda operations, done by the International Information Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union.

The International Department also serves one additional function in that it coordinates all of the active measures campaigns under the direction of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The KGB serves an additional function in that it does the clandestine transfer of funds to foreign Communist parties that the International Department directs it to transfer funds to, and does some of its work under cover of the international Soviet fronts. KGB officers have been noticed actively participating in a number of the front activities.

A description of how the Soviets look upon active measures was given by Chernenko before he took power in the Soviet Union. In a speech made early in 1983. He said:

> Comrades, our entire system of ideological work should operate as a well arranged orchestra in which every instrument has a distinctive voice and leads its theme, while harmony is achieved by skillful conducting.

He goes on to say that:

> Propaganda is called upon to embrace every aspect of social life and every social group in the region and to reach every individual.[1]

This coordination, as I indicated, is done by the International Department.

The role of the KGB was described many years ago by Andropov, when he first took over the KGB back in 1967. He talked about the state security bodies, which is a term they use for the KGB. He said:

> The workers of these bodies are aware that peaceful coexistence is a form of class struggle, that it is a bitter and stubborn battle on all fronts—economic, political, and ideological. In this fight, the state security bodies are obliged to carry out their specific duties efficiently and faultlessly.[2]

And the KGB role, as will be described by my colleague, Lucian Heichler, is in part to prepare the forgeries that are planted on Western media.

My other colleague, Dewitt Copp, will describe the international Soviet fronts and their role in this kind of activity.

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[1] Information Bulletin, documents of the Communist Workers Parties articles and speeches, August 1983 (translated from Pravada, June 15, 1983).

[2] Daily Review, Novosti Press Agency, Moscow, Dec. 31, 1967 (translated from Pravda, Dec. 21, 1967).

Before my colleagues describe in more detail the work of the fronts and the work of the KGB in forgeries, let me make the point that the Soviets coordinate the forgeries, the fronts, and the overt propaganda in an orchestrated manner so as to influence the target.

If I have a few minutes, let me describe one particular campaign which has all three elements in it. It is still going on.

The U.S. Government, as you know, Mr. Chairman, has made a decision and has been very careful not to comment on the issues involved in the attempted assassination of the Pope. The U.S. Government has made it very clear that we trust the Italian courts to deal with this matter and we are not going to comment on the issue.

The Soviets have not been so constrained. They have conducted a major campaign to say: First, that the Soviets and Bulgarians were not involved in the attempted assassination; and second, that it was, in fact, the CIA that attempted to assassinate the Pope. As bizarre as that kind of thinking may be, the Soviets have tasked assets in a variety of areas to do this.

In the area of forgeries—and perhaps my colleague, Mr. Heichler, will discuss this more fully—they produced two forgeries of USIA cables. In one we are supposedly orchestrating the press campaign in Italy which alleged that they were involved. In the second cable we congratulate ourselves on our success. The cables, of course, are forgeries.

[The information referred to follows:]

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. In the white area, the overt area, Yona Andronov, a long-time Soviet journalist with long KGB affiliations has written a series of articles in "Literaturnaya Gazeta," the Soviet newspaper. Those articles were reprinted in every language, including English, by the Bulgarians and distributed in pamphlet form. Their basic themes, as I indicated before, are that the Soviets and Bulgarians were not involved in the attempt to assassinate the Pope, whatever evidence shows up in the media is false, and that it was, in fact, the CIA that attempted to assassinate the Pope.

Senator PRESSLER. Where were those pamphlets distributed? Why would people believe them?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Well, usually they don't believe them when they see the inscription on the pamphlet that says "Sofia Press" or that the name of the author is Yona Andronov, who is a Soviet author. But it becomes a little more credible when the same material is published in a book in France by a French author, Christian Roulette, which reprints large sections of the Andronov writings, sometimes giving credit but often without giving credit to Andronov. Roulette also reprinted the two forgeries that the KGB prepared. This was then printed in a book in France with a French publisher and no indication of Soviet involvement. But, in fact, the author is a long-time member of the French Communist Party and has been active in propaganda campaigns on their behalf.

[The information referred to follows:]

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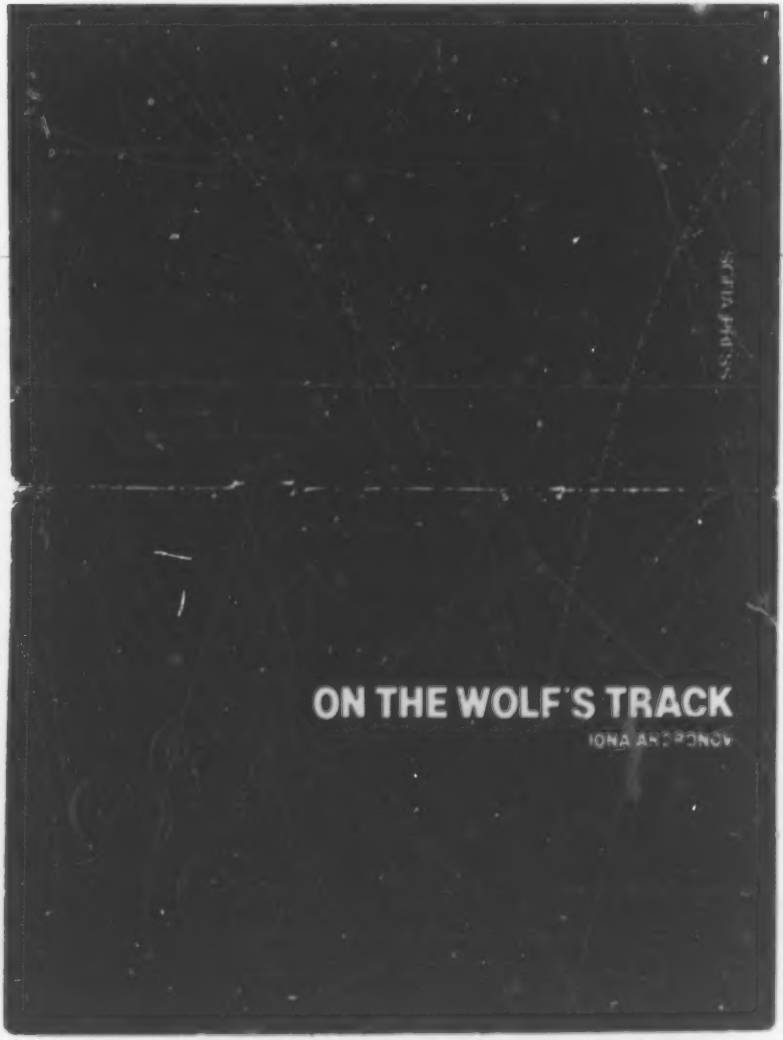
ON THE WOLF'S TRACK

63

IONA ANDRONOV

ON THE WOLF'S TRACK

SOFIA PRESS
1983

'Is it possible that Ipekci did not know about Hentze's true occupation?'

'Out of the question', Mme Sibel reacted swiftly. 'My husband was remarkably well informed about such sort of activities.'

'It transpires that Ipekci's work with which he dealt before his death, should be examined in the light of his knowledge of the CIA machinations. When on the eve of 1979 he investigated the smuggling of western arms by the Grey Wolves he had naturally already read in the Istanbul papers that the Turkish neo-fascists were being armed by CIA agents. When Ipekci attacked the Grey Wolves about the massacre in Kahramanmaras, he in every probability knew that among the instigators of that slaughter the CIA agent Alexander Peck, an official of the US Embassy was identified. When Ipekci learned about the coup prepared by the Grey Wolves, he probably knew already that the leader of the neo-nazis Türkes regularly received by mail considerable sums of dollars from the USA and that he obeyed the orders of the CIA agent Marshal Berg, counsellor at the US Embassy in Ankara, who was attached to him.'

But why in spite of everything did Ipekci turn to Washington's Paul Hentze? Perhaps he naively decided that Hentze would keep a tighter rein on his colleagues in Turkey? Or that he would pass on to the CIA headquarters and to the White House Ipekci's plea for slightly freezing their subversive operations on Turkish soil. Such a supposition is admissible since Ipekci, a bourgeois journalist, did not show hostility to the American authorities and did not condemn the military-political alliance of the USA with Turkey. He was in his way a Turkish patriot, but he had a naive faith in the leaders of Washington's policies.

Quite unreasonably he confided in Paul Hentze who after the former's death noisily saluted through the American press the overthrow of the civilian government in Turkey. In 1980 the adviser of the White House Brzezinski entrusted Hentze with the leadership of the West European broadcasting stations of the CIA. Hentze in his turn staffed them with downright fascists. He placed the microphones of the notorious 'Free Europe' at the disposal of the Romanian

nazi and escaped war criminal Valerianu Trifa, who with Hentze's knowledge coordinated from the USA the interaction of the foreign branches of the fascist 'Black International', which was joined by the Turkish Grey Wolves. With them and with the other accomplices in the 'Black International' Hentze had long since established contacts as representative of the CIA. It is not accidental that now he gets down to describing the terrorist adventures of the Grey Wolf Agca in the western newspapers, and to examine their Istanbul period in such a way as to secure his alibi. But precisely now it looks very flimsy: two days after the talk between Ipekci and Hentze the Grey Wolves rose against the Istanbul editor and two weeks later assassinated him.

Is it possible now to adduce incriminating evidence against Paul Hentze so that he may also be interrogated? It was with this question that I went to the *Milliyet* editorial office. There, since 1979, the newsmen have been conducting an independent investigation into Abdi Ipekci's murder. I discussed the question with the new editor-in-chief Dogan Heper, with Ozer Yalci, head of the International Information department, with political analyst Semi Kohin and with special correspondent Cihan Ekerson.

Analyst Kohin, a friend of the late head of *Milliyet*, summed up:

'We failed to expose the behind-the-stage culprits for Ipekci's murder. Our investigation led to a blind alley.'

Ekerson confirmed the truth of the information Ipekci's widow had shared with me, about the persecution of her husband by the terrorists after his meeting with Paul Hentze.

'Did you learn from Hentze the content of his talk with Ipekci?', I asked.

'God forbid!', exclaimed Ekerson. 'No one here would dare irritate the Americans with such questions.'

'Is this dangerous?'

'Certainly.'

CHART 2

SOVIET APPARATUS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR ACTIVE MEASURES

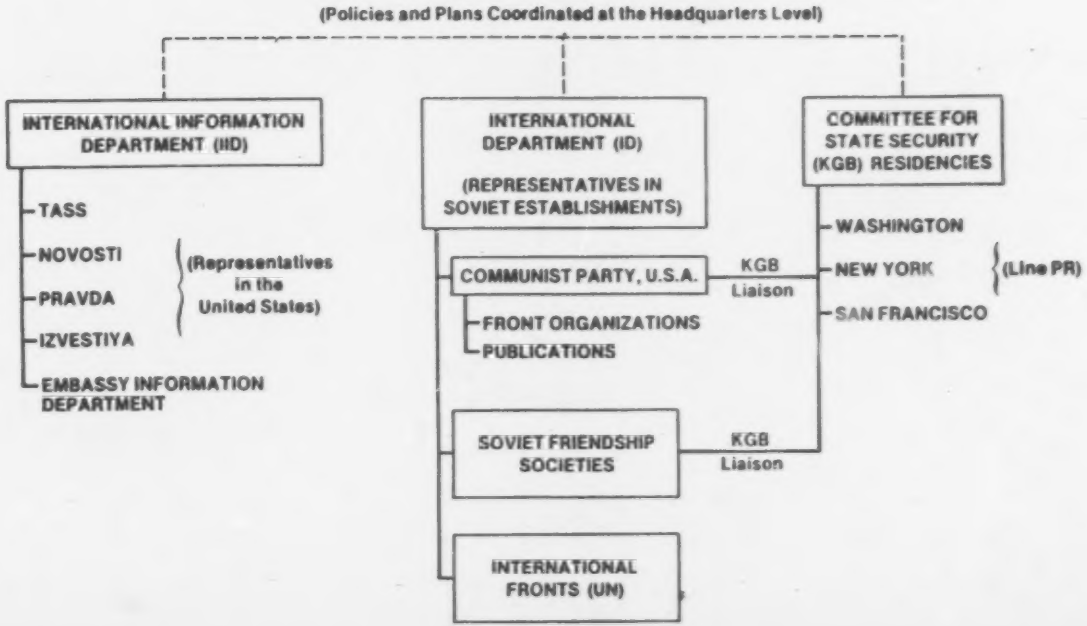

Foto A

FORGERY

ACTION COPY

Foto B

IMMEDIATE

FORGERY

THE BROWN SCUM

... And again Frankfurt-am-Main, 173 Gutleitstrasse. The headquarters of the Grey Wolves in Western Europe. A row of rooms with walls hung with pennants featuring the white crescent and with portraits of the fuhrer Türkes, arrested in Turkey; a wolf-like, sinister old man with a large nose. Scowling, nervous youths like him eye me with hostility close to me as though to sniff me. I am taken to their boss. On the way I am pushed lightly in the back, not at all hospitably. O.K., I'm thinking, at least they are not biting yet. I had not even hoped to be accorded a better reception than this.

In Celebi's absence, his deputy Ihsan Ener dealt with me. He was young. Not more than forty. Tall and broad-shouldered. Very hairy, markedly threatening and very shrill. Shaking his enormous fist in a fit of anger, Ener swore at communists in general and my compatriots in particular. I was nearly deafened by his shouting. Godless people! Aggressors! Age-old spokes in the wheel of Great-Turkey ideals! Give us back the Caucasus! Return the Balkans! Do not touch Afghanistan! May Allah punish you most mercilessly!

And when, hoarse with shouting, he piped down, I tactfully inquired:

'Will you tell me, please, who provided you with one million dollars for the murder of the Pope?'

'That's a lie!' the Grey Wolf hawled again. 'We are absolutely innocent.'

'But your associate Celebi has met Agca.'

'What if he has?'

'Then whose were the one million dollars he promised Agca?'

'I do not know anything about that.'

'And do you know Ruzi Nazar?'

'I know him by name, not personally.'

'Really?'

'That's enough,' he bristled. 'I'm telling you for the last time: our organization has never planned a plot to assassinate the Pope in Rome. We do not need that at all. We have suffered the most as a result of all this affair. Now everyone is against us. It would be senseless for us to make an attempt on the life of the supreme priest respected in these lands. Is that clear? *Auf Wiedersehen!'*

... Wiesbaden. Deutschheimerstrasse. The house at Number 164. It is the base of the West German section of a US subversive organization under the name of New Solidarity. The Wiesbaden office specializes in infiltrating the ranks of the peace movement and left-leaning youth groups, in spying on them and subverting them from within. The principal method of subversion is fierce anti-Soviet propaganda. In Wiesbaden this is the prerogative of the American Paul Goldstein. He is regarded as a 'European expert in counter-espionage'. Goldstein had earlier been based in New York and he recalled the former correspondent of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* in that city when I dropped in on him in his suspicious Wiesbaden office without an advance invitation.

In the view of his New York bosses Goldstein has one fault which is no handicap in his work, though: he detests fascists. Goldstein's business - anti-Sovietism - is just another way of making dollars. And his abhorrence of nazis is an overriding passion obviously born of his desire for vengeance against the current successors of the sometime executioners of his European kinsmen. Goldstein who now lives in Wiesbaden knows by heart the names and biographies of many surviving Hitlerites and Turkish fascists in the FRG, as well as of lots of other brown riff-raff. He knows of Ruzi Nazar, too. And he told me about him despite the fact that Nazar was a CIA man.

'Ruzi Nazar', said Goldstein, 'is officially posted at our embassy in Bonn. But his diplomatic work is secret. He maintains undercover control over the Frankfurt headquarters of the Grey Wolves on behalf of the CIA. Celebi's arrest has caused him no inconvenience. In West Germany he directs the activities of the Grey Wolves through their secret chief Altayli: Nazar himself is one of the aces of terrorism. He is a war criminal. In the Second World War he deserted from the Soviet Army in your country and joined the SS troops as a thug and after the fall of the Third Reich he started working for the CIA'.

I did not trust Goldstein's statement and later checked the authenticity of what he had told me about Nazar's war crimes. And I found that everything was true. In the winter of 1941 the traitor Umorzarov, who later styled himself Nazarov and finally Nazar, fled to the Germans on the Soviet-German front. Gestapo enrolled him among the thugs who tortured and murdered captured communists and Komsomol youth members behind barbed wire. In the autumn of 1942 he rose to the post of as-

sistant-commandant of a POW concentration camp in the Ruzhichnyansk area of Kamenets, Podolsk district. Later, along with other traitors, he was posted by the fascists to the newly formed Turkestan SS punitive legion. This SS unit had the task of 'hunting' for Soviet partisans and terrorizing the defenceless population. The SS legionaries swooped in frenzy upon all those they suspected of helping the partisans, subjected them to cruel torture, hanged and shot them dead. Nazar was in command of a company of executioners. In recognition of his extremely cold-blooded sadism and loyalty the nazis decorated him with a medal and promoted him to the rank of oberlieutenant.

In 1944 Nazar was sent to Berlin on a new important mission: to provide suitable cover for the future to spies of the retreating Wehrmacht behind the southern line of the front. A year later, in the now defeated Reich, Nazar managed to sneak into the American occupation zone with the list of the agents for whom he was responsible and re-sell his services to the Americans. In the fifties, CIA officer Nazar was recruiting trainees for the US spy schools in Munich and was part-time contributor to the broadcasts of the Voice of America radio. At about that time he was introduced to Paul Hentze, political adviser to the CIA-controlled radio Free Europe, who like Nazar was not only involved in the 'cold war' on the radio waves but was also sending spies and terrorists to the socialist countries recruited from among former nazi toadies and war criminals.

In 1959 Nazar and Hentze turned up in Ankara. The CIA agents were enrolled in the list of diplomats: Hentze as counsellor and Nazar as attache at the US embassy in Turkey. Both fanned the pro-fascist sympathies of the Turkish reactionaries. In 1974 Hentze became chief CIA operative in Turkey. Meanwhile Nazar had been transferred to Bonn. Both continued doing the same kind of job even though they were no longer together. In Ankara Hentze was the mentor of the fuhrer of the Turkish nazis, Türkes, and his pack of Grey Wolves from the US embassy in Bonn. Nazar was issuing instructions to Altayli, the boss of the Grey Wolves in Western Europe. In 1976 the Turkish police intercepted two messages from Altayli to Türkes written under the dictation of Nazar and recommending the overthrow of the Turkish government of the day. So it was established that the Grey Wolves were directed by the CIA both in Turkey and in Western Europe.

'Nazar could not but have known', affirmed Goldstein, 'about the order to kill the Pope, issued to the Grey Wolves in his charge'.

'Could this order have been endorsed by the CIA?'

'Precisely who endorsed it I do not know', he answered. 'Nevertheless the assassination was prepared with the knowledge of the CIA. Do not be surprised! Remember a similar occasion when Kissinger was US Secretary of State and was monitoring the activities of the CIA it was he who sanctioned the murder by terrorists of the former Italian Prime Minister and Christian-Democrat leader Aldo Moro.'

Yet it seemed incredible that the CIA bosses had raised a hand against Pope John Paul II.

'Apart from these bosses', Goldstein added, 'there are several traditionally rival cliques within the ranks of the CIA. There is a pro-fascist grouping among them, too. It is capable of acts which sometimes appear incredible.'

THE ELUSIVE VAMPIRE

... The southern suburb of Bonn. A district called Little America. Not very high residential buildings amidst well-trimmed lawns. A cube-like building – an exclusive American club. An American church; American school; American baseball ground. Streets lined with oversized American limousines. Green automobiles of the American military guards cruise in the area. They are protecting the employees of the US embassy in Bonn who live here together with officers of the headquarters of the American Forces in West Germany and the so-called 'quiet Americans'.

The entrance to 15 Steubenring strasse is locked. Around it are the bell buttons to all apartments with the names of the families living in them. Apartment No 1, I learned, was occupied by Ruzi Nazar. It was the name 'Jones' however which was written on the label at his bell button. Has the vampire changed his family name for the third time? I pressed the bell. I heard a hissing sound. I opened the door. A man of about 35 was standing on the landing. Much younger than Nazar. I asked him:

Christian Roulette

Jean-Paul II Antonov Agca

La filière

71

Christian ROULETTE

JEAN-PAUL II-ANTONOV-AGCA LA FILIÈRE

Éditions du SORBIER
51, rue Barrault – 75013 PARIS

LA FILIÈRE

Enchaîné, Luigi Cavallo élabore en France des textes qui sont publiés à Turin.

En juillet 1983, il publie un bulletin très documenté sous le titre : « le pape, l'Islam et la C.I.A. »

Luigi Cavallo se livre pour la première fois à l'étude du personnage d'Agca. Il révèle les liens du tueur avec les organisations néo-nazies et affirme que la filière bulgare a été décidée par la C.I.A. et fabriquée par les services secrets turcs (M.I.T.) et italiens (D.I.G.O.S.).

Luigi Cavallo qui rappelle qu'il est lié personnellement à des « services » de documentation américaine sait fort bien de quoi il parle lorsqu'il précise que les services secrets italiens, tout comme les services secrets turcs, bénéficient de deux budgets, un budget venu de l'État et un budget venu de la C.I.A. Il était donc facile de coordonner une action pour fausser l'image d'Agca et préparer le scénario d'une filière venue de l'Est.

Pour Luigi Cavallo, la filière bulgare est l'œuvre des « Républicains » qui autour de la Maison-Blanche pensent que la condamnation du Bulgare Antonov est de nature à renforcer la position de Reagan dans l'opinion américaine.

Reagan-Bush veulent à tout prix cette condamnation avant novembre 1984 et ils ont bénéficié du concours actif du juge Martella acquis depuis longtemps aux nécessités des luttes idéologiques venues d'outre-Atlantique.

LA FILIÈRE

Pour illustrer le rôle actif joué par le département d'État américain dans la manipulation de l'affaire Agca, Luigi Cavallo publie le fac-similé de deux documents qui ont été imprimés par le téléscripteur de l'ambassade des U.S.A. à Rome.

Les dépêches sont ainsi libéllées :

– «

SECRET – ROME – 28 AOUT 1982.

AMBASSY ROME – SEC. STATE WASHDC
CIA WASHDC – USIS WASHDC –
AM CONSUL MILAN – AM CONSUL PALERMO
NATO COLLECTIVE

OBJET. L'affaire AGCA et les activités terroristes du bloc de l'Est

I – L'organisation, en Italie, d'une campagne pour attirer l'attention de l'opinion publique sur une implication de la Bulgarie dans l'attentat contre le pape Jean-Paul II est à la fois possible et prometteuse.

Une majorité catholique veut naturellement répondre à la question de savoir à qui peut le plus profiter la mort du pape en montrant du doigt le bloc de l'Est.

La mise en cause de la Bulgarie, le plus fidèle satellite de l'U.R.S.S., sera une étape vers le discrédit des leaders soviétiques et pour impliquer ultérieurement Moscou comme centre du terrorisme

international. L'Italie et ses alliés montreront ainsi que l'objectif du Kremlin est la déstabilisation du bloc de l'Ouest, posant ainsi la question de la valeur d'un dialogue, quel qu'il soit, avec les Russes.

II – La clé de cette affaire est la production de preuves établissant les liens d'Ali Agca avec les Bulgares. Des amis du « S.I.S.M.I. » ont assuré nos spécialistes qu'Agca est maintenant prêt à coopérer et à donner des preuves qu'il a agi sous les instructions directes des représentants bulgares en Italie. Les identités des Bulgares impliqués sont en train d'être étudiées. « S.I.S.M.I. » possède quelques éléments sur les services secrets bulgares et leurs agents en Italie, mais notre aide dans cette affaire serait extrêmement bienvenue, particulièrement les éléments provenant de nos sources dans les dossiers des Brigades Rouges. Il est de l'intérêt des U.S.A. qu'une aide de cette nature soit fournie.

III – Une prompte réaction de la part des médias italiens contribuerait au succès de la campagne. Une aide a déjà été promise par les journaux *Nuovo*, *Avanti* et *Il Messaggero*, ainsi que par certains leaders du parti de Craxi, par le social-démocrate Poletti et par d'autres. Nous pouvons aussi compter sur le soutien du général Ferrara et sur celui du ministre de la Défense : Lagorio.

IV – L'arrivée de Vernan Walter doit permettre la coordination finale de cette opération qui exige aide et efficacité.

LA FILIÈRE

Le deuxième document est le fac-similé d'un texte qui émane du même téléscripteur de l'ambassade des U.S.A. à Rome : il est daté du 6 décembre 1982 et concerne les mêmes interlocuteurs :

OBJET : l'affaire ANTONOV

I – Comme prévu, notre opération pour lier les Bulgares à l'attentat contre la vie du pape a été un succès retentissant. Les médias européens ont développé avec enthousiasme les thèmes sur les orientations prévues : que le tueur a été dirigé par la police secrète bulgare; que les Bulgares agissent sous le contrôle total du K.G.B.; que le K.G.B. était dirigé à l'époque des faits, par l'actuel leader soviétique.

II – Après concertation, le leader de l'union syndicale : Georgio Benvenuto, a donné une interview au journal conservateur milanais *Il Nuovo* préconisant le rappel de l'ambassadeur italien à Sofia, centre d'appui de l'espionnage. Un socialiste du parlement, Stefano Servadei, pressera le gouvernement afin qu'il prenne des mesures effectives à l'encontre des principaux coupables dirigeant les activités des services secrets Bulgares.

III – Trois facteurs ont assuré le succès de la campagne :

A. Le soutien actif des socialistes du parti de Craxi, convaincus que dans cette action ils consolideront leur position vis-à-vis des autres partis.

B. La crédibilité et le prestige des services américains en tant que fidèle et régulière source d'information pour les journalistes les plus hautement responsables.

C. L'intérêt tout spécial manifesté à l'Ouest pour tout ce qui concerne les circonstances de l'attentat contre la vie de Jean-Paul II [1].

Mme Sterling explique dans son livre [2] que ces documents sont des faux qui ne comportent d'ailleurs aucune référence. Luigi Cavallo répond très tranquillement :

– « Vérifions si la machine utilisée est, ou non, le téléscripteur de l'ambassade américaine : la réponse est oui! les dépêches ont été imprimées sur le téléscripteur, personne ne prendra le risque de le contester par une expertise technique. »

De tels arguments et de tels documents sont bien gênants pour le juge Martella. La réaction viendra du parquet de Milan, le 14 mai 1984, à l'époque où le procureur Albano remet en secret ses conclusions. Cet acte d'accusation est immédiatement confié à Mme Sterling qui en publie des extraits dans le *News York Times* du 10 juin 1984.

Alors que la préparation du procès Antonov s'active pour satisfaire les exigences de Reagan, Luigi Cavallo constitue un gêneur. Le parquet de Milan lance contre lui un mandat d'arrêt et une demande d'extradition. Luigi Cavallo est arrêté par la police française de Fontainebleau le 19 mai 1984.

1. Ces dépêches reprennent les orientations du Concile Jonathan et du C.S.I.S.
2. Le temps des assassins.

LA FILIÈRE

Que veulent les magistrats italiens?

Faire taire Luigi Cavallo sur la filière bulgare? Sans aucun doute! A moins que les « services » qui sont à l'origine de l'affaire Antonov ne souhaitent « détenir » Luigi Cavallo pour le contraindre à renier les thèses qu'il a publiées.

***

Quelques jours avant son arrestation, Luigi Cavallo a appris que l'avocat français que je suis, prépare un dossier sur l'affaire Antonov. Il me désigne pour l'assister et c'est ainsi que je découvre ce solide personnage, porteur de bien lourds secrets et de terribles angoisses.

Aux côtés de Me Domenach, avocat catholique nous plaidons la mise en liberté d'un journaliste poursuivi sur des inculpations de droit commun qui recouvrent des motifs clairement politiques : Luigi Cavallo est remis en liberté par la justice française après vingt-cinq jours de détention...

Dans les jours qui suivront ils recevra des communications téléphoniques lui enjoignant de se taire tantôt sur le ton de la personne qui vous veut du bien, tantôt sur le ton de la menace.

Le prolongement de la filière bulgare à Paris semble pour l'instant avoir fait long feu.

entend dénoncer les massacres commis par les fascistes dans la ville de Kahramanmaras, il a notamment identifié parmi les instigateurs du carnage, un membre de la C.I.A. nommé Alexandre Peck employé de l'ambassade américaine en Turquie.

Ipekci sait également que Turkesh, Führer du parti du Mouvement national travaille en relation avec Marshall Berg autre agent de la C.I.A., conseiller d'ambassade, qui couvre l'aide financière considérable apportée au mouvement fasciste depuis les États-Unis.

Ipekci décide de saisir directement la personne qu'il sait la mieux informée des graves engagements pris par les États-Unis au regard de la situation intérieure : le 13 janvier 1979 il rend visite à l'Américain Paul Hentze et lui confie toutes ses préoccupations.

***

Le 20 janvier 1979, Mehmet Ali Agca se fait délivrer un passeport. Le 31 janvier 1979, Ali Agca et Oral Celik se retrouvent à Aksarai, le siège du parti du Mouvement national. Ils retrouvent là Mehmet Shener et un autre Turc fasciste Chailan. C'est au siège du parti néo-fasciste que sont prises les dernières dispositions et le commando constitué de Celik. Agca et Chailan se dirige vers le boulevard Emlaka Teshvikije à Istanbul, à quelques 50 mètres du domicile d'Ipekci.

LA FILIÈRE

Dans *Paris-Match* le 29 mai 1981 – Jean-Michel Caradec fait le récit de l'attentat :

– « Ce premier février 1979, le grand boulevard d'un quartier bourgeois d'Istanbul est pratiquement désert. Un homme adossé contre la façade d'une maison, indifférent au vent glacé qui balaie les rues. Élancé, le visage bleui par une barbe dure, il protège ses mains dans les poches de son costume pied-de-poule. L'homme attend sans manifester la moindre impatience. Il se contente de fixer tranquillement le boulevard où circulent quelques rares voitures et taxis jaunes à damiers noirs et blancs. Une voiture américaine s'approche, conduite par un homme d'une cinquantaine d'années. Le conducteur met son clignotant et ralentit pour tourner dans une rue étroite à angle droit. Abdi Ipekci, rédacteur en chef et éditorialiste renommé du quotidien turc *Milliyet*, rentre chez lui. Le jeune homme attend au coin de la rue. Il fait les quelques pas qui le séparent de la voiture. Il tient maintenant un pistolet à deux mains et, les jambes légèrement fléchies, comme au stand de tir, il tire. La voiture a calé. Derrière le pare-brise éclaté, Abdi Ipekci s'effondre, mortellement blessé de plusieurs balles. Son assassin remet l'arme dans sa poche et, d'un pas vif, mais sans courir, rejoint l'homme qui l'attend au volant d'une voiture, sur le boulevard. En quelques secondes, elle a disparu, emportant Mehmet Ali Agca, vingt et un ans, et son complice, un militant du parti fasciste turc, le C.H.P. (parti d'action nationaliste).

*Collection « **AVERTIR** » : des écrivains, des journalistes, des chercheurs attirent l'attention sur des questions essentielles d'aujourd'hui.*

CHRISTIAN ROULETTE :
JEAN-PAUL II, ANTONOV, AGCA, LA FILIÈRE

Laissons en repos notre imagination. L'Histoire contemporaine nous offre plus passionnant qu'un roman de cape et d'épée. Une fois encore, la réalité dépasse la fiction. On ose à peine y croire... et pourtant, tous les ingrédients sont là :
— le décor : Rome et Byzance,
— un pape, victime désignée : Karol Wojtyla, premier pape slave de la Chrétienté,
— Un tueur turc : Mehmet Ali Agca,
— un étrange périple qui va le mener de la Sublime Porte à la Place Saint-Pierre,
— une société secrète : Les Loups gris,
— les complices. Ils sont légion : croisés qui préparent Agca à sa mission, comparses qui l'hébergent, parrains qui le paient et arment son bras, comploteurs qui l'affublent de masques et brouillent les pistes,
— Serguei Antonov, cerveau d'un complot international ou faux coupable ? non pas Juif comme Dreyfus, mais pis encore : agent bulgare manipulé par l'Empire du Mal... ou bien, plus simplement, victime tragique d'un procès kafkaïen ? Ne reste qu'à démonter le scénario. Qu'à arracher les masques... Christian Roulette s'en charge...

Christian Roulette, avocat, est l'auteur en 1984 d'un livre pour le cinquantième anniversaire du procès de Leipzig.
Il y évoque la figure de Dimitrov face à Goering et y retrace l'engagement des avocats français : Me Moro-Giafferi, Me Torres, Me Willard qui ont joué un rôle considérable auprès de l'opinion internationale pour arracher « l'acquittement pour insuffisance de preuve ».
Le dossier Jean-Paul II - Agca - Antonov permet à Christian Roulette de renouer avec la tradition de défense de ses illustres prédécesseurs.

Atelier 1 + 1

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Photo A.P.

Senator PRESSLER. Here is the heart of the problem. These false documents are reprinted by a third party, like the letters attributed to Ambassador Helene von Damm or Clarence Brown. They are introduced into the media by bodies such as in the Communist paper of Luxenbourg. Then it is reprinted elsewhere without reference to its original source, or if there is a reference, the reader often is not inclined to carry it back to the original source.

This then, is the real goal: The reprinting of a falsified document. I doubt that without the reprinting it would be possible to distribute enough of the original pamphlets to have much impact.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. You are quite right, Senator. Getting it replayed is often the role of the KGB. When a forgery appears in a newspaper in India and a few days later appears in a newspaper in Mexico, we know that the Mexican editor is not reading the Indian press and picking up the forgery from there. He is often picking it up because it is being orchestrated by the KGB people.

Senator PRESSLER. Please bring the microphone closer to you, and down a little.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. It is often the KGB officer that takes the forgery that has appeared in one ostensibly non-Communist publication and hands it to another ostensibly non-Communist publication to replay. We find the same forgery or the same piece of disinformation showing up in various parts of the world, and sometimes the CIA is able to advise us of a specific Soviet hand. They will be able to tell us that a particular KGB officer was involved. Sometimes, though, they are not in such a position. And sometimes, even when they can tell us of KGB involvement, we cannot reveal it because of the problem of revealing sources and methods. Perhaps Lucian Heichler can discuss this further.

We usually attempt, through other forms of analysis, to show the Soviet or Soviet bloc hand.

Let me also say that the International Soviet fronts picked up on the campaign in regard to the so-called Bulgarian connection and printed a tremendous amount of material, repeating the Soviet line and then attempting to get that material from the fronts into Western media.

[The information referred to follows:]

IOJ news letter

1983
OCTOBER

SPECIAL ISSUE

THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTS

Inglorious End of a Slanderous Western Press Campaign

TIME TO CLEAN UP THE DUST HEAP OF JOURNALISM

Dear Colleagues,

The Antonov case, which had by now become an almost forgotten sensation of the Bulgarian connection, is being revived in a different light. It has turned out that the crown witness in this whole affair, the terrorist Agca, gave false evidence. At the end of last year when the Western press launched its great sensational "disclosures" around the so-called Bulgarian connection (meaning the alleged complicity of a Bulgarian citizen in the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II) and flagrant attacks against Bulgaria and the other socialist countries, the mass media had to take a stand on this issue. Although this was an open and shut case the methods of some of our "colleagues" never fail to astonish because of the shamelessness with which they heaped fabrication upon fabrication under the guise of "reliable" information. Because we did not doubt for a moment the real truth about this case, we asked a colleague this past spring to collect whatever accessible information was available and to concentrate mainly on the journalistic methods used by the Western mass media. From his work there emerged a book which under the title The Phony Connection was published in June this year by the IOJ. In its individual chapters (Origin and development of the slander campaign, Facts prove they are lying, The connection fades into nowhere, and others) we showed the methods used by the Western mass media, and we also showed with whose support they constructed lies, half-truths, speculations and sensations, without even wrapping that these fabricated "facts" could hardly be of long duration.

And we were proven right on September 13 this year when under the weight of evidence in favour of Antonov, Magistrate Martella definitely decided that the various confessions of Turkish terrorist Agca, who on St. Peter's Square in Rome shot at Pope John Paul II on May 13, 1981, were complete lies. Perhaps only in a vain effort to stave off the threat of scandal the Italian judiciary did not release Sergei Antonov even after revelation.

Ignominious double-page spread in Paris Match: Bulgarian waits for the pope

But Magistrate Martella does not bear the weight of the blame alone. Among those who share it are mainly the aforementioned Western mass media. In regard to the "Antonov affair", or if you like the "Bulgarian connection", they let their fantasies run wild, engaging in the most impossible speculations and fabrications. In the best traditions of James Bond and bloodthirsty paperback serials, their stories were full of "terrorists from the East", "inescapable conclusions" about Bulgaria's role in the conspiracy against the pope, about weapons and drugs with which the socialist countries flood the "orderly and peaceloving" societies of capitalist countries. The Western mass media showed once again how they imagine being responsible to their readers works in practice.

The point is not simply the hunt for sensation. The "Antonov affair" was not merely a matter of blackening the reputation of a single innocent man. Similar campaigns lead to undermining good relations among nations, instead of contributing to mutual understanding, so badly needed at this particular time for the maintenance of peace and life on earth. Therefore it is time to put an end to this dust heap of journalism. All honest colleagues must join forces in the interest of truthful and objective information. The mirror we have tried to use to expose some Western mass media – which take such pride in their objectivity and truthfulness – is also a warning against the consequencies of these practices.

The Staff

WESTERN PRESS ON A FALSE TRAIL

The recent disclosure that Agca lied appeared in Western mass media, though not in all. They were news items of a most modest nature, hidden somewhere on the back pages. How strangely these inocuous notices about the collapsing case against Antonov contrast with the way the Western media reported when the "Bulgarian connection" broke out last autumn. How they differ from the shrill headlines, the long columns that filled whole newspaper and magazine pages, plastered with many pohotgraphs.

One example that speaks for all is the double-page spread in a very popular French magazine Paris Match (see photo on p. 1). It is illustrated with a photo showing the scene of the attempted murder on St. Peter's Square in Rome. In the background is the shocked crowd. The face of one person – a man wearing glasses, with dark hair and a mustache is encircled. Right next to it is a photo of Sergei Antonov – arrested a year and a half later by the Italian police. The caption

Les pions du K.g.b.

to the photo reads: "Bulgarian lies in wait for pope". And the accompanying text says: "Paris Match carries proof. This photograph is an indictment. It shows that in the crowd, which was on St. Peter's Square on May 13, 1981, the moment when the wounded pope collapsed, there was a man with a mustache, Sergei Antonov, whom Magistrate Martella has just seized for active participation in the assassination attempt". The magazine speaks about a plot dreamed up in the East and claims that it is beyond discussion that the Bulgarians, who are entirely under the thumb of the USSR, would act on their own.

A few days after the photo was published and reprinted by other papers it turned out that this sensational proof was no proof at all: the man in the crowd, wearing glasses and a mustache, was an American tourist . . .

True, Paris Match – after this fact was revealed, apologised. But it did so in a brief announcement, in a far less conspicuous place, without disclaiming its original, suggestive text. Did all the readers, or at least the majority of them, notice this correction? Hardly. They remained unjustifiably prejudiced against Antonov, Bulgaria and the USSR.

MANIPULATING PUBLIC OPINION

Another example of a flagrant lie and manipulation of public opinion was the sensational report of the American television station Cable News Network (CNN). Referring to a "high ranking official" of the Reagan administration, the CNN announced on December 14 that during the visit of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz to Rome, which had just concluded, Pope John Paul II had said that he believed that behind attempted assassination were the Bulgarian and Soviet secret services. And Shultz, according to this excellent source, immediately informed President Reagan about the pope's pronouncment. That very same night all the big news agencies in the West vomited this story out into the world, quoting the television station and the "highly placed" source. For instance, the expanded evening paper France Soir had a shrill headline on the first page reading: "Pope Accuses KGB", and thick sub-titles: "His attempted assassination was decided by the Russians, stagemanaged by the Bulgarians, carried out by a single Turk". In the meantime, however, the Holy See, like Secretary Shultz, denied the report.

But hatred of the socialist countries continued to be fed and stoked in a manner recalling the propaganda of Hitlerite times.

And what to think of the objectivity of the American daily The New York Post, which at the beginning of December, after Bulgaria had energetically protested against the frame up of its citizen, wrote with utter demagogy that the anger manifested in that communist country when their agents are caught "in itself proves their guilt"? In the first place, how could this esteemed paper know that Antonov is a "secret agent"? In second place, what would it have written if Bulgaria had not protested? Most probably it would have triumphantly declared that this silence proves that Bulgaria is guilty and that it cannot defend itself.

ITALIAN TERRORISM AN "IMPORT" FROM THE EAST!

The "Antonov case" was of course the juiciest morsel for mass media of the country in which it happened – Italy. The Italian media, in fierce competitive struggle to win the largest number of readers or listeners, for safety's sake – and so as not to miss anything – churned out second-hand facts along with pure fabrications, speculation and conjectures, together with pure lies. The biggest Rome paper Il Messagero told its readers that Sergei Antonov was the head of some sort of broad international conspiracy.

An inspiring theme for the press became the linking of Antonov's country with terrorism as such. The daily of the Socialist Party L'Avanti stated that all terrorist acts "traditionally lead to the East". Other papers seconded this theme and so political terrorism, the scourge of Italy for decades now, suddenly became a non-Italian product! The one hundred dead in the bomb explosion at Bologna railway station in August 1979, organized by tight-wing terrorists, or the hundreds of other victims murdered or kidnapped by the extreme left "Red Brigades", now became the iniquitous work of murky elements from the East and Italian society was instantly cleared of all responsibility!

NOT ONLY THE ITALIAN MEDIA

The suggestive forays on readers' opinions, in an effort to mould them in the desired manner, were not undertaken only by the Italian media, of course. Mention was already made of the photograph whose "fame" was spread by Paris Match. But even after this terrible faux pas the editors of that magazine evidently could not sleep properly because of the "Bulgarian connection" and so they set out – in the January 14 issue of this year – on a unique reportage, one that offered strong competition to James Bond, to Bulgaria, to Vitosha Hotel in Sofia. They described it in a highly coloured manner as a luxurious den of international crime where smugglers of drugs and arms confer on their devious transactions. A similar article, although, true, in a slightly drier presentation, was printed on January 31 in The International Herald Tribune written by Henry Kamm.

If the reader's eye had alighted by chance on the huge headline of the newspaper Le Figaro of December 23 last year: "Bulgarian Case Presented at NATO", he might have had the impression that Bulgaria's guilt had caused the world a serious international crisis.

The two-page article in the American magazine Time of January 3 (a magazine which loves above all to crow about its great objectivity and the value this has for its reading "elite"), at first glance bears all the earmarks of objectivity: it presents, if briefly, the views of the other side, the Bulgarian authorities, the USSR . . . Nonetheless it achieves what it set out to do in a subtle way: the view of the reader is already guided by the title: On the trail of the Bulgarian connection; then comes a suggestive introduction citing that farfious remark by Italian Minister of Defence

LA BULGARIA È UN SATELLITE-SPIA

Roma. Dice Vi... ... agente del Kgb che ha disertato

Lagorio: "It was truly an act of war in peacetime." The article ends by saying that in truth, Soviet . . . and Bulgarian participation has not yet been proved, but the Italian authorities "feel that their case is strong". "Objectively". Time has also induced this "feeling" among its readers.

A SENSATION THAT DIDN'T HAPPEN

Now let us go three-quarters of a year ahead. The "Antonov case", or if you wish the "Agca case", is being revived, but now the situation has changed diametrically. It turns out that the crown witness, Agca, gave false testimony, to say the least. Antonov's alibi and that of another accused Bulgarian, Aivasov (in his absence), proved indestructible. So the question arises, why did the Turkish terrorist give false witness, and here one has to remember the visit of the Italian secret police to Agca in his cell. Where are those and similar headlines, page-length reports, fiery captions, lurid photographs? For instance, La Stampa of September 30 carried a small two-

(continued on page 4)

The bubble is inflated, the Western press sounds the alarm. Front pages of photographs and screaming headlines: Bulgarian 007 after the Polish pope, pistols marked KGB, Eastern connection confirmed

The bubble bursts: where are the splash headlines, pohotographs, where has sensation flown? Out-of-the-way places for little reports and brief items

Warning for Agca

From George Armstrong in Rome

Mehmet Ali Agca, the Turk who tried to assassinate the Pope in 1981, has received a belated warning that he could be charged with murder for his part in several Bulgarian

Only one Bulgaric Antonov, is under [illegible] lawyer Ludovico Isgrò announced [illegible] manager for [illegible] airline at [illegible] Sofia [illegible]

Sagte Ali Agca falsch aus?

ROM, 20. September (AFP). Der türkische Papst-Attentäter Ali Agca ist wegen falscher Beschuldigungen des Bulgaren Sergej Iwanoff Antonoff im Zusammenhang mit dem Anschlag auf Johannes Paul II. verhaftet worden. Das teilte der Anwalt Antonoffs am Freitag gegenüber AFP mit. Ali Agca hatte den Vizedirektor der römischen Filiale der bulgarischen Fluggesellschaft Balkan Air beschuldigt, direkt an dem Anschlag gegen den Papst vom 14. Mai 1981 mit

Papal Attacker Faces Slander Charge

ROME (UPI) — Investigators said Thursday that they have begun slander proceedings against Mehmet Ali Agca, the gunman who shot Pope John Paul II in May 1981. The move could undermine the alleged Bulgarian connection in the attack.

It was on Mr. Agca's testimony that Judge Ilario Martella ordered the arrest of Sergei Antonov, station chief in Rome for the Bulgarian airline

Verleumdete Ali Agca Antonow?

dpa/rtr, Rom

Eine Beteiligung von bulgarischen Hintermännern an dem Attentat auf Papst Johannes Paul II. am 13. Mai 1981 durch den Türken Mehmet Ali Agca wird inzwischen bezweifelt. Die Justiz glaubt nicht mehr, daß Sergej Antonow, Angestellter der bulgarischen Fluggesellschaft in Rom, einer seiner Komplizen war. Der zu lebenslanger Haft verurteilte Agca wurde angeblich von Antonow verleumdet.

Brief reports from The Guardian, Die Welt, Frankfurter Rundschau and The International Herald Tribune

WESTERN PRESS ON A FALSE TRAIL

(from page 2)

column story on page seven, and a tiny notice on October 3. The International Herald Tribune wrote about this important turn in the case, to which it had devoted a number of special articles, in the rest to the last space of its "foreign items in brief" column. In The Guardian one finds on September 30 a tiny report of one column on page nine, in Die Welt an even shorter 10-line item at the very bottom of page four, the Frankfurter Rundschau was satisfied on October 1 with a very small AFP story.

A number of papers, as a rule the most vulgar ones, did not inform about this turn in the "Antonov case" at all.

POLITICAL MOTIVES AND JOURNALISTIC ETHICS

How is it possible that the "Antonov affair", which had no basis in reality, was so vehemently trumpeted to the whole world?

A certain Mrs. Claire Sterling, known as a rabid anticommunist and CIA collaborator, wrote an article in the Reader's Digest which specifically named Bulgaria as the organizer of the assassination attempt, and said that Bulgaria acted on Moscow's orders! Reactionary circles in the USA displayed feverish interest in this information, invited Martella to America - and shortly afterwards Antonov was arrested.

So here you have it, a deliberately prepared campaign, to which the mass media of the West lent themselves heart and soul. And the motive? It was advantageous to make the socialist countries appear as dark forces in the interest of enforcing NATO's militaristic plans.

This inflammatory campaign threatening peaceful coexistence was seized upon quite willingly by some mass media of Western countries in the race for sensation and profit. It was seized upon by colleagues whose mission and the sacred duty should be to implement the noblest ideas of friendship and peace in the interest of mankind's survival, in the interest of us all!

L'attentat contre Jean-Paul II

L'homme de la place Saint-Pierre

La piste de l'Est confirmée

LE FIGARO

A X X . ANNÉE 2 DÉCEMBRE 1982 (N° 11 865) – Édition de 5 heures – PRIX : 3,50 F

Who is the bigger calumniator: Agca or Le Figaro?

↓ →

Il aurait diffamé Antonov l'homme de la « filière bulgare »

Ali Agça calomniateur...

Au cours de la crise polonaise, le Pape aurait informé Brejnev de son intention de rentrer à Varsovie

Jean-Paul II : l'explication du complot bulgare...

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NEWS

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May Day Declaration adopted

The Bureau of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in a declaration devoted to May 1, 1985 stated:

–The present period is characterised by a strong vitalization of the role of the workers as the main driving force of our contemporary history, the most resolute and consistent defender and creator of social and progressive transformations. In defending its rights the workers are also defending the interests of all oppressed and exploited sectors of society, therefore it carries out a united struggle, together with manual workers and intellectuals, for their social, economic and political demands.

In the socialist countries the workers exercise power and carry out a successful creative activity aimed at streamlining and developing the economy and social relations. Wherever big capital dominates, they struggle against exploitation and oppression of the monopolies, to safeguard and extend the rights of the workers, for democracy and social emancipation. They play an important role in the life of the peoples in developing countries who aspire to consolidate and defend their independence and reject imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The workers' international solidarity is a manifestation of their desire to struggle against capitalist exploitation, against imperialism and for the aspirations of the peoples for national and social liberation.

Today, expressing in the slogans for the anniversary of May Day their necessities and demands, millions and millions of workers consider their primary task to safeguard peace, the basic condition to achieve the main objectives of the working class.

Workers are concerned over the war preparations of imperialism. The workers are who are most interested in safeguarding peace since they have created all the riches of the world and modern civilization. War which means death and destruction is contrary to work, the source of life and the driving force of social progress. Peace and work are inseparable.

Stressing the great importance of internationalism of the working people the document continued:

–The success of the struggle for peace depends to a great extent on the solidarity of the workers, on the dynamism of their actions against war at national and international level. The internationalism of the proletariat expresses the comradeship and international fraternity of the workers irrespective of nationality or race and consequently it consolidates peace among the peoples and has always opposed nationalism and chauvinism, which are the breeding ground for the ideology of war and aggression.

Today the most urgent task of the working masses and of all peoples is to prevent the nuclear war and eliminate the hotbeds of tension. For the first time in history mankind has not only to save millions and millions of people from unprecedented horrors and sufferings but also to preserve life on the Earth.

On this great occasion WFDY expresses its solidarity with the struggle of the peoples against imperialist oppression and exploitation, racism, colonialism, for national independence, social progress and the establishment of a New International Economic Order. We express our solidarity with all those struggling against the reactionary, fascist and dictatorial regimes, those fighting valiantly for social and national emancipation, prisoners and the victims of persecutions and repressive measures.

We express our solidarity with the socialist countries who are devoting their efforts to build a new society, in the context of imperialism's aggressive preparations that force them to divert resources for their defence.

We join our action to that of the workers in the world who are the most consistent defenders of the progressive humanitarian ideals linking to the struggle for their interests, for social and national emancipation of the peoples, the struggle to preserve life and prevent nuclear holocaust.

Therefore all progressive and democratic youth, all our member and friendly organizations, together with millions of workers will celebrate this anniversary under the slogan PEACE, WORK AND SOLIDARITY.

XII MOCKBA 1985

DEAR FRIENDS,

The 12th World Festival of Youth and Students begins this month!

This Festival is being held in a country which fully embraces the cause of its young people and their aspirations.

The Festival has brought together the representatives of big struggles waged by world youth as an integral part of the peoples.

Never has a World Festival been so representative! Never have so many forces participated in its preparation! The celebration of this big great event has indeed inspired the minds and the hearts of young people the world over.

This Festival is not only an opportunity to get to know each other better, it is above all, the need to unite our action, to face together the tasks imposed by the changing times.

Geographical distances and language are no obstacle to our understanding, for there is a common language among young people of this generation! This is the ideal of anti-imperialist solidarity, of peace and friendship!

There is no doubt that the fight waged by each of us, in whatever part of the world, will contribute to making this event a new step forward on the road of history.

Let us act together to make the 12th Festival a new triumph of world youth!

Walid Masri
President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth

Bureau Declaration stresses unfaltering solidarity with Vietnam

This year, together with the people and youth of Vietnam, progressive peoples and youth of the world warmly greet the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Vietnamese people over the war of aggression of US imperialism.

Ten years ago, on April 30, 1975, the Vietnamese people, in its heroic struggle full of sacrifices, emerged victorious from the neo-colonialist war of aggression which proved to be the longest, the most desperate and the most barbarous war waged by imperialist since the Second World War. With this glorious victory, the Vietnamese people put an end to 30 years of struggle for national liberation and defence of the homeland, and threw off the imperialist domination of Vietnam that had lasted for more than a century. The neo-colonialist regime that US impe-

(Continued on page 2, 1st col.)

Against puppet regime in Namibia

«Once again the racist South African regime is hatching a sinister scheme aimed at delaying Namibia's independence and halting the establishment of a SWAPO government in Namibia. The South African regime has announced its plans to establish yet another «interim central government» in Namibia. According to this scheme of South Africa, the disgraced puppets of the so-called Multi-Party Conference (MPC) will assume the dirty responsibilities of managing the South African occupation of Namibia.

The purpose of this scheme, like others in the past, is to forcibly install in Namibia a puppet regime that would continue to serve the interests of imperialism. These sinister plans are being carried out in complete disregard and defiance of international public opinion.

The apartheid regime and US-led imperialism, faced with inevitable defeat and the collapse of colonialism in the whole of Southern Africa, are now frantically seeking new ways of maintaining their domination and exploitation in that region. Under the facade of working for peaceful changes and decolonization in Southern Africa, imperialism and its local ally are in fact aiming at the destruction of the liberation movements and the imposition of neo-colonialist solutions in the region.

The imposition of a puppet regime in Namibia is part of this strategy, and is also a continuation of South Africa's universally condemned Bantustan policy. All these obnoxious schemes are being arrogantly carried out against the expressed wishes of the people of Namibia, who, under their sole and legitimate leadership, SWAPO, have expressed their readiness to proceed immediately with the implementation of Security Council Resolution No. 435 beginning with a ceasefire as a first step. However, in the absence of South Africa's readiness to do likewise, they would continue to intensify the struggle for national liberation and genuine independence.»

WFDY, consistent with its support for the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia, vehemently condemned and denounced these fraudulent manoeuvres aimed at denying the people of that country their independence and at prolonging the armed conflict in Namibia.

Statement on Sudan issued

The WFDY has been following with great concern the political developments in Sudan, particularly the popular uprising against the dictatorial regime of Nimeiri. The sacrifices of the democratic and progressive forces which have waged a constant and consistent struggle were crowned with the removal of this disgraced dictatorship, once more proving that a regime totally dependent upon imperialism and obsequiously acting at its behest, can never serve the interests of the people and therefore reserves to be removed by the people, and replaced by a democratic people's government sensitive to the welfare of the people.

Once more in the history of post-colonial Sudan, the country is poised on the brink of a better future for all its people. There is hope that the tide of anti-popular measures and the complete neo-colonial dependence adopted by Nimeiri's regime will be reserved. There is hope too that the divisive civil war will be ended and a just and lasting basis will be found for settlement of the national question that divided the north and south of the country on what appeared to be regional, ethnic and religious grounds. There is both a social and political base that feeds this hope — the wide range of social and class forces and other organizations which have fought the anti-popular and neo-colonial regime.

What took place in Sudan is a significant step in an attempt by the people and youth of this country to wrench the country from a political-economic-military quagmire into which the Nimeiri regime had plunged the country. It is an attempt to restore democracy in a country that has seen the very rapid erosion of democratic principles. Furthermore, it is geared toward reversing a situation where a handful of foreign and local capitalists reaped great profits and power at the expense of the starving and neglected Sudanese masses. The new government faces the task of the urgent restoration of the non-aligned positions of the country to remove Sudan from the strategic military designs of the United States government and its reactionary allies in the region.

WFDY salutes the efforts of the youth and people of Sudan to restore democracy, their struggle for the unity and sovereignty of the country, for a better life and social progress. WFDY reaffirms its solidarity with the people of Sudan and commits itself to render all possible support to the Sudanese youth and people.

(From page 5)

profits, thus contributing to the heavy drain of capital, to the decrease of foreign exchange reserves and to the increase of the foreign debt ...

In view of such a serious situation, the democratic and progressive sectors demand a necessary moratorium in the payment of loan capital and interests, to obtain better loan conditions, to cancel clauses that violate the national sovereignty and to accept credits only if these contribute to promote the independent development of the country.

It is in this context that the broadest social forces are staging a great national protest day (the «National Civic Stoppage») where the progressive forces hoist the banners of Patriotic Unity — UP — as symbols reaffirming the aspirations for a democratic peace and national independence that inspire the Colombians.»

WFDY Bureau condemned trial of S. Antonov

The Bureau of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in a statement joined the broad strata of the international community in protesting over the arbitrary and illegal detention of an innocent Bulgarian citizen, Sergei Antonov, for two and a half years now by the Italian judicial authorities.

It has become quite apparent from the facts revealed, as well as by the admission of the investigating Magistrate Martella himself, that the charges against S. Antonov are based not on evidence but on spurious clues. This confirms that the trial is rigged and that it is the result of political considerations.

«It is a well-known fact that civilized nations adhere to the principle that the innocent need not prove their innocence. It is up to the prosecution to produce proof of guilt», the document says. «This principle is also written into the Italian criminal code. In any of the numerous versions of Agca's 'confessions' there are no proofs either direct or indirect of Antonov's involvement in the assassination attempt. There are enough grounds for arguing that not only the truth, but the law, democratic judicial principles and investigation procedure have been violated. As a result the latter was directed towards the distortion of truth, aimed at covering the tracks of the real culprits behind that conspiracy. It is our firm conviction that if the investigators were really interested in uncovering the roots of the crime, they could surely find obvious facts that would reveal not only the real organizers and

(Continued on page 7, 1st col.)

Third Joint Seminar held by WFDY and IFLRY - from the conclusions

... They emphasized that the main direction in questions of strengthening international security is arms limitation and disarmament. They are of the opinion that in the present situation the only possible road is a gradual advance to the ultimate goal — the abolition of weapons of destruction — through stage-by-stage fulfilment of the tasks of arms limitations and reduction so that at each given moment equilibrium is preserved on an ever lower level.

The participants underlined the need to struggle for effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in outer space and terminating it on earth, at limiting and reducing nuclear arms, and expressed their opinion that banning strategic weapons cannot be considered separately from outer space issues.

They welcomed the ongoing Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the USA, as well as other ongoing arms limitation talks such as those in Vienna.

They expressed their desire to work to ensure that the negotiations lead to positive results, and stressed the importance of concrete disarmament steps by the involved sides as well as confidence-building measures to achieve a halt in the arms race. In this context the participants welcomed the initiatives of the USSR in this direction.

They expressed their conviction that the danger of nuclear catastrophe can only be incresed by adoption of the principle that a state can safeguard its security at the expense of the security of others. That is why they were of the opinion that there is a need to work for equal security for all.

The continuous commitment of the participants to the CSCE process was underlined and hope was expressed for success of the Stockholm Conference on Security and Confidence-Building Measures in Europe.

In discussing questions related to the 40th anniversary of victory over nazism and fascism in the Second World War, they expressed their profound conviction that the lessons of the victory over fascism should have appropriate reflection in the present-day anti-war, anti-fascist and anti-militarist struggle of youth, for strengthening détente, for the inviolability of the post-war borders, against revanchist tendencies.

The representatives of IFLRY and WFDY member organizations voiced their concern over the present environmental situation, the waste of natural resources and scarce raw materials, in particular for military purposes, and the negative effects of these problems on the developing countries. The air, soil, water and forest pollution e.g. by acid rain, as well as the continued pollution of the seas was noted with concern. The participants expressed the need for urgent action to be taken in this respect...

The participants regarded youth cooperation on international, regional and national level as an important factor in promoting peace, disarmament, security and cooperation.

In this connection, the results of the 4th meeting of the International Preparatory Committee for the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students were evaluated as a positive step forward in the preparation for the Festival. They underlined the high importance of a broad and open Festival in which each and every participant can express his or her arguments while discussing all the current problems young people are faced with, for the further promotion of youth cooperation on national, regional and world-wide scale in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship.

Youth and Student Peace Work – News and Views '85

Mlada Boleslav, Czechoslovakia, 17–19 May

After West Berlin in 1983 and Copenhagen last year the follow-up of the annual News and Views meetings, where the youth peace movements come together and exchange experiences, methods, news and views, was held this year in Mlada Boleslav, Czechoslovakia, the first of these meetings to be held in a socialist country. This meeting was more representative than ever due to the fact that the list of those invited was extended beyond Europe to other continents as well. The 226 participants from 44 countries and West Berlin as well as representatives of 24 international organizations and bodies clearly showed that the peace movements are wide and active all over the world. They stressed that forums like »Youth and Student Peace Work — News and Views« are very useful for them because they give an insight into the wider aspects of the peace struggle.

(From page 6)

instigators of the assassination attempt, but also those who did their best to turn this legally untenable case into a large-scale political provocation and a defamation campaign against Bulgaria.

World public opinion is becoming increasingly convinced that the »Antonov case« is a fabricated and orchestrated slander campaign blown up to monstrous proportions by the forces of confrontation and »cold war«. It has been used as a pretext for launching a large-scale political provocation directed against the impeccable name of a country which plays an outstanding role in the struggle to strengthen peace, cooperation, international security and good-neighbourly relations in the Balkans, in Europe and the world. It was also designed to damage the prestige of the entire socialist community and to increase tension in international relations.«

Festival Photo Competition Concluded

More than 50 young photographers, both professionals and amateurs, from 16 countries of Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America took part in the International Photo Competition »Youth of the world — for anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship«. The co-organizers of the competition — the Union of Socialist Polish Youth and its press organ »Walka Mlodych«, the Polish Festival Committee and the World Federation of Democratic Youth recived 600 photos — the result of their appeal to the progressive and democratic youth to use the art of photography to turn the spotlight on the struggles of our time.

An international jury awarded the following prizes:

Grand Prix

Mayra A. Martinez, Cuba, for the photo »Enough misery«.

Professional category

1st prize: **Leila Jenkings**, Brazil, for two photos without title;

2nd prize: **Mechmet Unal, FRG**, for the series »Peace depends on us«;

3rd prize: **Tadeusz Zagoslinski**, Poland, for the series on Beirut.

Other awards (professionals)

Krzysiof Pawela, Poland, for the series »Free Nicaragua«,

Miguel Fieitas, Cuba, for the photos »I want to live«;

Francisco Primitivo, Dominica, for the series »Talking walls«,

Frantisek Bajecky, Czechoslovakia, for the photo »Friends«.

Amateur category

1st prize: **Mohamed Ali**, Algeria, for the series »School«;

2nd prize: **Andrzej Kitlinski**, Poland, for the series »Children of Mexico«;

3rd prize: **Tomasz Salei**, Poland, for the series »Day of l'Humanité«.

Special award of WFDY

Humberto Mariol Vilon, Cuba, for the photo »The First Encounter«.

The World Federation of Democratic Youth expresses its thanks to all participants and its congratulations to the prize winners.

»World Youth« will present a selection from the prize-winning entries in its forthcoming issues.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. A part of the campaign was an incredibly vicious attack on some of the American journalists and scholars—Claire Sterling, Paul Henze, Michael Ledeen—who have in their writings alleged a Bulgarian connection.

As I said, the U.S. Governmnent does not take a position on this question. But the writers who have taken a position have been subject to incredible smear campaigns in the Bulgarian press which is then replayed in other parts of the world.

Senator, may I now introduce Lucian Heichler, who will go into more detail on the forgeries and the KGB role. This is Lucian Heichler of the State Department.

STATEMENT OF LUCIAN HEICHLER, CHAIRMAN, INTER-AGENCY WORKING GROUP ON SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. HEICHLER. Thank you.

Senator, in discussing forgeries as one element of this highly unconventional form of warfare in peacetime, active measures, I would like to begin with a few general observations.

Forgeries are the most tangible, the most obvious, form of active measures. We have been paying close attention to them for the past several years, at least since the establishment of the Active Measures Working Group in 1981.

The purpose of forgeries is generally the same: To discredit the U.S. Government or to discredit specific agencies, such as the CIA or the Department of State; to drive wedges between ourselves and our allies and other friendly countries around the world; and to play quite cleverly on already existing sensitivities, fears, confusion, and the like that exist around the world.

So, while the basic purpose is generally unvarying, we have found that active measures in the form of forgeries show considerable sophistication in taking into account the target audience. The purpose differs from Europe to Africa to Latin America to Asia. In Europe, the main effort clearly is directed at NATO and at U.S. leadership of NATO, to discredit NATO, to create antagonism toward NATO, to create fear—fear of war, fear of the United States, distrust of the United States.

We have seen a considerable campaign of active measures through forgeries in black Africa. Here the emphasis has been consistently on attemts to allege, to demonstrate, a degree of cooperation, particularly military cooperation, with South Africa, which does not, in fact, exist; to portray the United States as racist, as interventionist, as having little regard for sovereign nations of that continent.

In Latin America, again, the objective has been to attack our policies, to play on all sorts of existing sensitivities and old concerns about the role of the United States on that continent.

Asia is a particularly fertile field for active measures and for forgeries. The themes have ranged across the board, including some of the most absurd allegations imaginable. India has been a particularly fertile field for the latter.

In examining the forgeries—and I should say that we have a very, very large number in our files by now—we find that the

degree of sophistication in content and form has increased gradually over the years.

The perpetrators of these forgeries have a reasonably good knowledge, in some respects a perfect knowledge, U.S. Government documents. They have many genuine articles in their possession and they draw on them.

Forgeries run the gamut from letters purportedly from American business firms—arms manufacturers and the like—all the way to State Department and Embassy telegrams, Presidential letters, letters from senior Government officials, even U.S. Army field manuals.

It is not easy to say definitely that all these forgeries are of Soviet or Soviet surrogate origin. It would be presumptuous for me to claim that we have proof positive in all cases. We have proof positive actually only in a limited number of cases where circumstantial evidence is buttressed by the testimony of a defector who had been actively engaged in this business.

However, we have a number of tests to which we subject these forgeries when they surface, when they are reported to Washington by our field posts:

To what extent do they serve Soviet policy objectives? To what extent do they resemble a well-known pattern in the surfacing and recycling—and you mentioned earlier the importance of the recycling, the reappearance of these forgeries? Therefore, in the vast majority of cases we can be reasonably certain that the KGB or one of its surrogates is behind the forgery.

Not all of these forgeries are prepared at KGB Center in Moscow. We understand from what we have been told by defectors, like Stanislav Levchenko, that frequently a more general directive is received by a KGB field station and the actual execution is left to the station.

As I said before, the degree of sophistication varies. Sometimes it is very crude, like the so-called Olympic hate leaflets, which, allegedly, the Ku Klux Klan sent to a number of Olympic committees in Africa and Asia before the Los Angeles games. These were very crudely done. It was a very simple matter to show why the Ku Klux Klan, for which I hold otherwise no brief, in this instance could not have done them.

[The information referred to follow:]

Olympic Games for Humans, Not Apes!

SINCE ANCIENT TIMES THE OLYMPIC GAMES HAVE DEMONSTRATED THE STRENGTH AND DEXTERITY OF THE SUPERIOR RACE - THE WHITE RACE. IN KINDLING THE OLYMPIC FLAME AND GLORIFYING THE MIGHT OF THE WHITE MAN, THE ANCIENT GREEKS IN THEIR WILDEST DREAMS COULD NOT IMAGINE THEIR DESCENDANTS COMPETING AT OLYMPICS WITH BLACK AND YELLOW APES.

WE SHALL PUT AN END TO THIS. THE BLACKS AND YELLOWS WILL NOT BE PERMITTED TO DESECRATE AMERICA'S STADIUMS. WE HAVE FORCED THE SOVIETS OUT OF THE OLYMPICS. WE SHALL NOT PERMIT THE APES TO BE PRESENT EITHER!

IF YOUR CURS DARE TO COME TO THE SUMMER OLYMPICS IN AMERICA, THEY WILL BE SHOT OR HANGED.

ALL OLYMPIC GOLD MEDALS TO THE WHITES ONLY!

DEATH TO THE BLACKS AND COLOREDS!

FBI/DOJ LIBRARY

The Olympics - for the Whites Only!

AFRICAN MONKEY!

A GRAND WELCOME AWAITS YOU IN LOS ANGELES!

WE HAVE BEEN TRAINING FOR THE GAMES BY SHOOTING AT BLACK MOVING TARGETS. IN LOS ANGELES OUR OWN OLYMPIC FLAMES ARE READY TO INCINERATE YOU. THE HIGHEST AWARD FOR A TRUE AMERICAN PATRIOT WOULD BE THE LYNCHING OF AN AFRICAN MONKEY.

BLACKS, WELCOME TO THE LOS ANGELES OLYMPICS!

WE'LL GIVE YOU A RECEPTION THAT YOU'LL NEVER FORGET!

Mr. HEICHLER. Also, there are very sophisticated letters done on genuine letterhead, obviously stolen, on a typewriter close to the one the real person would use, with nearly perfect forgeries of signatures and the like.

There is, however, almost always something wrong in the forgery.

Senator PRESSLER. What are some of the most prominent letters that have been forged and distributed around Europe?

Mr. HEICHLER. Senator, you mentioned a few minutes ago the Ambassador von Damm letter. With your permission, I will go into a little bit of detail on that. It is an unusual case.

Senator PRESSLER. Yes. Speak up just a little bit, please.

Mr. HEICHLER. Yes.

It is an unusual case because an original, a ribbon copy of this forged letter, was actually sent to the addressee and the addressee has given it to us.

Senator PRESSLER. Where did this occur?

Mr. HEICHLER. This was in Vienna.

Senator PRESSLER. Signed by our Ambassador?

Mr. HEICHLER. Signed by our Ambassador, by Helene von Damm, to Austrian Defense Minister, Mr. Frischenschlager.

The letter appears to be a crude and insensitive attempt to play havoc with Austrian commitment to neutrality, a commitment to which we, the United States, under the State Treaty, are a guarantor.

The letter is written in almost flawless German and asks the Austrians to give favorable consideration to integrating their early warning defense network into that of NATO. The letter was sent, actually sent, to the Austrian Defense Ministry, and, at the same time, a Xerox copy was sent to an Austrian publication, slightly on the sensationalist side, with the clear intent of causing great irritation, both within the Austrian Government and the Austrian public.

[The letters referred to follow:]

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Wien, den 26. Januar 1984

FORGERY

Sehr geehrter Herr Bundesminister,

Gestatten Sie mir, dass ich Ihnen meine engste Verbundenheit zum Ausdruck bringe. Ich habe die Ehre Ihnen zu versichern, an einer breiten Zusammenarbeit auch weiterhin interessiert zu sein.

Wie Ihnen ebenfalls bekannt ist, muessen die Laender Westeuropas infolge der Stationierung moderner amerikanischer Mittelstreckenraketen mit russischen Gegenmassnahmen rechnen. Die Sowjets haben nicht nur ihre Absicht bekundet, in der Tschechoslowakei und in Ostdeutschland Atomraketen aufzustellen, sondern diesbezuegliche Arbeiten sind bereits im fortgeschrittenen Stadium. Diese Lage birgt nicht nur fuer die NATO-Laender grosse Risiken in sich, sondern auch fuer alle neutralen Demokratien.

Um eine solche Gefahr zu vermindern, moechte ich Sie im Namen der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten dazu veranlassen ueberpruefen zu wollen, in welcher Art und Weise die Republik Oesterreich im Falle eines sowjetischen Atomangriffes den Westen beistehen koennte. Vor allem sollte in Betracht gezogen werden, dass eine wirksame Einschaltung Ihres Luftraum-Ueberwachungssystems in das der NATO offensichtliche Vorteile fuer die gemeinsame Verteidigung in sich birgt. Das von Ihnen verwendete italienische System ist kompatibel und eignet sich ausgezeichnet fuer die Einschaltung in das sueddeutsche oder norditalienische Netz; in gegebenen Fall ist die Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten bereit, die noetigen technischen und finanziellen Mittel aufzubringen.

FORGERY

Ich darf Sie darueber informieren, dass eine aehnliche Anregung unserseits von zustaendigen Regierungskreisen eines anderen neutralen Landes befuerwortet wurde.

Erlauben Sie mir, Herr Bundesminister, auch diese Gelegenheit zu benutzen, um Ihnen meine ausgezeichnete Hochachtung zu versichern.

Helene von Damm

Helene von Damm

Herr Bundesminister fuer Landesverteidigung
Dr. Friedhelm Frischenschlager
Wien

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
VIENNA

February 16, 1984

His Excellency
Dr. Friedhelm Frischenschlager
Minister of Defense
Vienna

Dear Mr. Minister:

This is to thank you for bringing to my attention what is an obvious case of forgery committed with the intent of damaging the harmonious relationship that exists between Austria and the United States.

The letter to you, purportedly written by me, the American Ambassador in Vienna--in its form, its content, and its manner of delivery--appears to fit a general pattern with which my government is quite familiar. Examples of similar attempts are described in the material that I am attaching to this letter for your information and file.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Helene von Damm

Helene von Damm
American Ambassador

Attachments.

Mr. HEICHLER. The attempt misfired. The editors of the publication who received the copy did not publish it. They consulted the Austrian Government and the American Embassy. Of course, it was established instantly that they were dealing with a forgery.

As a result of this, the Austrian press played this matter up as a case of disinformation, most likely, if not certainly, of Soviet origin, rather than as what it purported to be, an American attempt to breach Austrian neutrality.

Senator PRESSLER. So we came out ahead, theoretically, on this one.

Mr. HEICHLER. We came out way ahead on that one.

Senator PRESSLER. However, there have been other cases where we have done must less well, isn't that true?

Mr. HEICHLER. Well, not in all cases have we been able to counter it as effectively and quickly—with the help, I might add, of the Austrians in this case. Certain forgeries that have surfaced in Africa have hurt us quite a bit because it took time and effort to persuade the African government in question that it was dealing with a forgery.

If I may mention a case in point—this is not a letter, but a forged dispatch from the German Embassy in Accra to Bonn, reporting on a conversation that the German Ambassador there had with his American colleague. He cites the American Ambassador as complaining about his services being terribly slow to carry out their mandate of bringing down the Ghanaian Government of Jerry Rawlings.

This dispatch was duly surfaced in the Ghanaian press and caused us considerable problems.

[The information referred to follows:]

Mr. HEICHLER. We finally convinced the Ghanaian Government that this was a pure fabrication from beginning to end. The Federal Republic of Germany, of course, helped in this. The dispatch which I have read—I read German—is a remarkable piece. I suspect, without proof, that it was done by the East German intelligence service for Moscow. Its mastery of what I might call German "governmentalese" is perfect.

To go back to the Von Damm letter for a moment, we had for once an opportunity to analyze something better than a late generation Xerox copy, which generally defies good forensic analysis, and were able to establish a number of interesting things:

The letterhead was absolutely genuine. The type ball, used on an IBM Selectric II in preparing the letter, is not the one that the Ambassador's secretary uses but the same model.

The Ambassador would not have used German in a letter of this kind, even though, of course, she is fluent in it, being a native of Austria.

For a German letter, there were some mistakes in form. The paragraphs are indented. They would be in an English letter, an American business letter, or an American diplomatic letter. In a German letter of this nature, they would not be.

Most convincingly, microscopic analysis of the signature shows it clearly to have been traced, because there are telling ink deposits at various points throughout the signature which would not occur if someone signed his or her name in the normal way, without stopping.

Usually, we are not so fortunate as to have an original. As I have just said, Xerox copies are very difficult to analyze from a technical point of view, and, hence, a preferred way of placing a forgery.

Senator PRESSLER. Did the Clarence Brown letter in Germany, do us significant damage, or was it caught?

Mr. HEICHLER. It got caught.

[The letter referred to follows:]

Senator PRESSLER. What other major forgeries have occurred lately in Europe?

Mr. HEICHLER. Well, one case, clearly designed to create fear among the population, is a forged letter from the Danish Chief of Staff, General Jorgensen, to Danish citizens alerting them to the fact that in an upcoming NATO exercise their homes would have to be requisitioned by U.S. troops, that this was unfortunate, but that they would have to put up with it, and that, of course, any damages would be paid for by the Danish Government and so on and so forth.

This is the kind of thing that is clearly designed to create fear, particularly on the part of older, infirm people, and to create an anti-NATO attitude, a sort of feeling of "Why do we have to put up with this kind of thing from the Americans?"

The letter was circulated reportedly by a Danish Communist youth group.

My colleague, Mr. Romerstein, has mentioned the Rome cables.

[The information referred to follows:]

Forgery

6 1. sektion • POLITIKEN • Torsdag 8. september 1983

Til beboerne.

I anledning af den igangværende Ample Express øvelse skal det hermed meddeles, at forsvaret finder det nødvendigt, at gøre brug af USCINCEUR PLAN [illegible] stk. B & K:

B. US-stridskræfterne har ret til, at benytte [illegible] ethvert område og enhver indretning, som den overordnede anser for nødvendigt for at opfylde enhedens opgave eller for at yde enheden den fornødne sikkerhed.

K. US-stridskræfterne kan gennemføre de militære operationer, der er nødvendige.

For at forsvarsøvelsen kan blive realistisk og at et forbilledligt samarbejde mellem befolkning og udenlandske tropper kan etableres, sker det med hensigt til, i en kortere periode, at rekvirere Deres bolig.

De vil senere blive informeret om på hvilket tidspunkt, vi forventer at indtage, ligesom De vil få nærmere besked [illegible] hvorledes vores inkvartering vil blive organiseret.

Forsvaret gør opmærksom på, at De ikke kan forvente at disponere over Deres bolig under den kortvarige beslaglæggelse, hvorfor det vil være hensigtsmæssigt, at De i forvejen har pakket en mindre taske med Deres fornødenheder.

Eventuelle skader på Deres bopæl vil blive erstattet fulgt ud.

Yderligere informationer kan indhentes på ovennævnte adresse.

Med venlig hilsen

K. Jørgensen

K JØRGENSEN
FORSVARSCHEF

FORGERY

Unclassified

"It is clear that all these feverish attempts to overthrow the government are designed to prevent the truth about the connections between events since the 29th of October last year and certain elements connected with the S.I.B."

—Captain Kojo Tsikata (rtd)—

People's Daily Graphic

"These malicious and baseless allegations have been made without regard to the observable facts and without reference to sources which might have been able to provide the TRUTH."

— Mr Thomas Smith, U.S. Ambassador to Ghana. (Graphic, March 1, 1983)

FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1983. No. 10075. PRICE: ¢1.00

• FLTLt. J. A. Rawlings: "There can be no U-turn."

CIA ASSEMBLING MERCENARIES TO ATTACK GHANA

This Special Adviser to the PNDC who is also in charge of State security has disclosed that American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has at the moment recruited hundreds of mercenaries in a neighbouring countries for an imminent attack on Ghana.

He however reiterated what the Force Commander, Brigadier Arnold Quainoo, said recently that the Ghana Armed Forces are well prepared to meet any aggressor.

Captain Kojo Tsikata (rtd) also revealed at a press conference in Accra yesterday that the CIA and certain intelligence have also recruited and are paying their collaborators in Ghana on plans towards the overthrow of the PNDC Government.

These criminal activities, if carried out, the Captain said, will no doubt lead to the loss of lives of many innocent people including those of women and children.

Captain Tsikata made these disclosures while reacting to a challenge posed by Justice Sowah Azu Crabbe on allegations of CIA involvement at the special investigations Board.

• Mr Thomas W. M. Smith, American ambassador to Ghana.

WEST GERMANY TELLS ABOUT CIA

...ween't willing ...ticipant ...laba

Tsikata throws counter-challenge

CAPTAIN Kojo Tsikata (rtd) has given the Chair...

Forgery

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
Washington, D.C. 20230

Eingegangen BZ
23 NOV 1984

23.Nov.84 08 37

Washington, October 24, 1984

FORGERY

Dear Sirs,

Most probably you are very well aware of the fact, that Eastern Bloc countries are eagerly trying to purchase more and more High Technology articles which directly or indirectly can be used by the army, so against the Free World.

Keeping this in mind and to develop an appropriate marketing and trade policy conception in accordance with the political decisions brought to hinder or cease the export of High Technology products to these countries, we ask for your cooperation in giving us some information of interest:

We would appreciate to receive the list of articles you produce or trade with that are on the COCOM list. We would be particularly pleased if you could indicate the presumable volume of sales to the Warsaw Pact countries, to Austria, Finland and Switzerland. Do you have any idea, what is the volume of your High Technology articles sales through Western European and other channels that in the end turn to Eastern Bloc countries?

Secretary Baldrige and I both feel that more frequent contacts in the future can offer further connection with businesses directly or indirectly engaged in the sometimes slippery East-West trade.

I feel that your contribution might be of further assistance to us in resolving problems emerging from the trade of High Technology articles.

Sincerely,

Clarence J. Brown
Deputy Secretary of Commerce

CJB/glf

66

Translation

To the Residents:

On the occasion of the current Ample Express Exercise, you are informed that the Defense deems it necessary to implement sections B and K of USCINCEUR Plan 100-1:

B - U.S. Forces are entitled to occupy any area and any installation which are considered necessary by the Supreme Commander for completing the unit's tasks and to provide the necessary safety for the unit.

K - U.S. Forces can carry out the military operations which are necessary.

To make the Exercise realistic and to establish an ideal cooperation between the population and foreign troops, we find it necessary to requisition your living quarters for a short time.

You will be informed later about the time when we expect to arrive, and you will also get further details about how your quartering is to be organized.

The Defense Department points out that you cannot expect to have your home at your disposal during the short confiscation, and it will therefore be expedient if you pack what is needed in a small bag in advance. Any damage to your living-quarters will be paid in full. Further information can be obtained from the above-mentioned address.

With kind regards,

K. Jorgensen

Chief of Defense

Senator PRESSLER. Repeat that, please.

Mr. HEICHLER. The Rome cables, attempting to make the Bulgarian connection with the assassination attempt on the Pope, appear to be a plot orchestrated by the U.S. Government with the cooperation of the Italian Government.

As Mr. Romerstein mentioned, there are two. One proposes a major media campaign to blame the assassination attempt on the East, specifically on the Bulgarians. A second telegram, dated several months later, in 1983, in a sense pats ourselves on the back for having done it so well.

This one won't go away. It has been denied. It has been discredited by the Italians and by ourselves. But references to it continue to be made, and it continues to surface.

That brings me to the phenomenon of active measures, forgeries in particular feeding upon themselves.

They are surfaced. They may be denied or discredited immediately. But that does not stop the effort of recycling them, getting them published again and again in different newspapers, periodicals, and so forth, around the world, to the point where, as I like to say, a sort of "sticky residue" of credibility begins to attach itself to something that is, on the face of it, totally absurd.

This plays on the universal psychology that says where there is smoke, there is fire; if there are so many people talking about this, there is probably something to it.

I think for this reason, looking at the effort in the long term, rather than the immediate effect, the perpetrators of these forgeries, these rumors, these insinuations, what have you, are not necessarily discouraged if the thing does not catch fire immediately. There is time to keep spreading it, to let it feed upon itself with a good deal of help from agents and the like.

In the Latin American area, I would like to mention just one recent example which is still very much with us in the process of analysis. It is a forged letter from an American general who heads the Inter-American Defense Board, General Schweitzer, addressed to President Pinochet of Chile. This first surfaced in Rome.

Senator PRESSLER. Who addressed this to Pinochet? Speak up just a little bit.

Mr. HEICHLER. General Schweitzer, head of the Inter-American Defense Board, who has, of course, denied the authorship of it.

It is a very clever and a very damaging piece. It dwells on the closest military cooperation between the United States and Chile, and expresses thanks for the planned deployment of Chilean military units in Honduras and El Salvador.

[The letter referred to follows:]

JID SECRETO C-...8

INTER-AMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD
2600 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20441

25 de febrero de 1985

Su Excelencia
Augusto Pinochet Ugarte
Presidente de la República de Chile
Cap. Gral. del Ejército
Palacio de la Moneda
Santiago

FORGERY

Estimado Sr. Presidente:

Me complace informar a Su Excelencia que la entrega a Chile del nuevo armamento solicitado será decidida en el más corto plazo. Me ha causado agrado el saber, a través del Sr.Motley, que usted ha mostrado vivo interés por ampliar nuestra cooperación en el terreno militar. Estimamos su profunda comprensión de las particularidades de la nueva situación internacional y de las iniciativas del presidente Reagan, encauzadas a fortalecer nuestra capacidad defensiva común.

Quisiera asegurar a Su Excelencia que seguirá usted contando con nuestro decidido apoyo en sus esfuerzos por fortalecer la libertad y la democracia en Chile.

FORGERY

Con respecto a nuestras actividades conjuntas en América Central, quisiera sugerirle la conveniencia de que las primeras unidades chilenas sean trasladadas a El Salvador y Honduras ya en marzo. Nuestros representantes en dichos países recibirán instrucciones dentro de dos semanas. Junto con su representante trataremos los demás problemas de nuestra cooperación en una de las próximas reuniones de la JID.

Con los mejores testimonios de mi más alta consideración y estima personal hacia Su Excelencia, saluda a usted

Muy atentamente,

Robert L. Schweitzer

ROBERT L. SCHWEITZER
Lieutenant General, U.S. Army
Presidente

United States Information Agency

Washington, D.C. 20547

COPY

August 16, 1985

Dear General Schweitzer:

Enclosed is a copy of the forgery attributed to you.

We are able to draw some conclusions at this time.

1. The copy of the forgery in our possession was placed on the desk of an Italian journalist by an unknown person. It was in a plain white envelope. This method of surfacing a forgery is a well-known Soviet technique.

2. Based on information supplied by General Schweitzer, USIS Rome was able to convince the journalist that the letter was a forgery. As a result the perpetrators were compelled to use a Guatemalan "news service" known to be associated with the Cuban-Nicaraguan-backed insurgents to provide credibility to the Italian news agency that surfaced the forgery. This revealed the Cuban-Nicaraguan hand in the forgery.

3. General Schweitzer's evidence, provided to the Italian press service, was widely distributed both by them and USIA. Thus, the facts about the forgery are now well-known. Such exposés raise the cost to the forgers.

The following are preliminary findings of an unofficial but expert forensic examination of the forgery:

1. Paper: Not common in America.

2. Text: Possibly, the letterhead and the text were all printed on one machine, although it is difficult to determine from a copy. The letterhead does not appear to be "spliced" on.

3. Signature: Because the letter is a photocopy and the note provided was signed with a felt-tip pen it is difficult to say anything about the signature. However, it appears to be well executed. Lab would need several samples of the General's signature to determine such things as where he signs his name in relation to the signature bloc.

4. Comments: Based upon a cursory examination, it appears the document is an excellent forgery.

A linguistic examination of the forgery is now being done.

Lt. General Robert L. Schweitzer
Inter-American Defense Board
2600 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20441

I am sorry that I did not get back to you earlier on this matter. We will continue to pursue this forgery and will keep you advised as we gain additional information.

Best regards,

Herbert Romerstein
Senior Policy Officer
on Soviet Active Measures

Enclosure: Letter

Mr. HEICHLER. It has so far not caused a great deal of damage. It was first surfaced in Rome. It was promptly caught, thoroughly discredited there by the news agency which first received it, and it was then quickly switched to Sweden and to South and Central America. As I said, again, this is an effort that has not done as much damage as its originators obviously hoped to inflict.

I like to think that we are becoming more effective and more successful in countering these campaigns by catching them faster than we used to, by analyzing them faster, by providing guidance to our field posts more rapidly, thanks to an automated data base that we have established on active measures. And, as Mr. Romerstein has indicated, we are trying to move from what is still essentially a reactive mode to a proactive or preemptive mode. We are trying harder than we did to predict what events, what predictable events, are likely to lead to active measures campaigns of various types, and to be ready to bat them down the moment they raise their heads.

Thank you, Senator.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Senator, if I may just quickly supplement my colleague, Mr. Heichler, on the supposed letter of General Schweitzer, that is a good example of our rapid reaction in a situation that forced the perpetrators to show their hand.

The letter was found on the desk of an Italian journalist on July 3 of this year. It was in a plain, white envelope. This is a frequent method used by the Soviets in surfacing forgeries. They try to get it anonymously to an unsuspecting journalist.

That journalist had some experience with these matters, had been in contact with our post and our embassy before, and called USIS Rome and asked about the letter.

They phoned us. We checked with General Schweitzer and were able to tell them very quickly that this was a forgery, that this was not an authentic letter. And the Italian journalist who had received it of course did not use it.

It appears that the perpetrators needed some kind of European link to this letter because they wanted, I believe, to give it credibility. Europeans are more skeptical about these things. So, having it surfaced in Europe would give it more credibility than surfacing it elsewhere in the world.

Senator PRESSLER. How do you know that the KGB was the perpetrator?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. We actually believe that it may have been somebody else. We think it might have been the Cuban or Nicaraguan intelligence service on behalf of the KGB, because of some of the elements that were revealed as this case developed.

The next round was that a Guatemalan so-called journalist, who was a public relations man for the Guatemalan insurgency, which is supported by the Cubans and Nicaraguans, brought the letter to a journalist in Mexico City, a Mexican journalist who works for an Italian news agency—you see, again, they were trying to get a European flavor to it. They told him that this letter had turned up in Sweden and provided it to the journalist. This journalist was not sophisticated and did not check with the U.S. Embassy.

So that Italian news service put out on their wire the text of this forgery. But 2 days later, after talking to us about it, they printed

a retraction, pointed out it was a forgery and indicated why it was a forgery.

I believe that what happened here was, because we exposed it in Rome very quickly, they could not surface it in Europe. But they needed a European flavor, and this forced them to show their hand, by having one of their own assets, this so-called Guatemalan journalist, bring it to the Italian news agency and try to get it surfaced.

This, as I indicated before, is what we are trying to do. We are trying to raise the cost to them, to make it more difficult for them to perpetrate these forgeries, to put them in a position where they find that they get more adverse publicity with the forgeries than the good publicity that they hope to get.

If I may, I would now like to introduce my colleague, Dewitt Copp, of USIA, to talk about the front organizations.

STATEMENT OF DEWITT S. COPP, POLICY OFFICER ON SOVIET DISINFORMATION, THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

Mr. COPP. Senator, I would like to comment on some of the more recent activities of the major Soviet international fronts.

Senator PRESSLER. Once again, please pull the microphone closer.

Mr. COPP. Is that better?

Senator PRESSLER. Great.

Mr. COPP. We have a diagrammatic poster of these fronts.

Senator PRESSLER. Where is the poster now? Which one is this? Is this it?

Mr. COPP. You don't have it yet. It is coming.

It shows the connection to the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

You will see that there is a network of organizations that in one form or another are affiliates or satellites of the fronts.

[The poster referred to will appear at the end of this hearing in a special pocket of the cover.]

Mr. COPP. The use of fronts, of course, is as old as Lenin, who referred to them as "transmission belts." Their purpose since the end of World War II has been twofold. One is to advance the Soviet policy line, whatever that line may be, and to do so while attempting to convince noncommunists and Third World audiences that they speak freely and are not under Soviet influence or control,

Soviet front activities include regularly scheduled assemblies, held usually in East European capitals, organized demonstrations in Western Europe and the United States, regularly published magazines and newsletters, as well as pamphlets and books.

The World Peace Council, the foremost Soviet front, has its own publishing facility where it is headquartered in Helsinki, and it often publishes material from other fronts as well as its own.

Many of the fronts also operate as NGO's, nongovernmental organizations, attached to the United Nations on a consultant basis. That means, as NGO's, their representatives are permitted to attend U.N. conferences, they present papers which become a part of the official record, U.N. record, and sometimes they address U.N. meetings with a potential to influence U.N. debate.

Use of the U.N. imprimatur, on documents containing front positions lend credibility and prestige to the front as legitimate spokesmen of independent organizations.

I would like to cite three examples of Soviet international front activity to support Soviet foreign policy goals.

In October 1979, Leonid Brezhnev delivered a speech in East Berlin attacking NATO's previously announced plan to go ahead with the deployment in Western Europe and in England of cruise and Pershing II missiles.

The NATO vote to go ahead did not come until December of that year, but prior to that, the leadership of seven Soviet fronts, led by the World Peace Council, met in East Berlin and issued a call to all NATO countries, as they put it, "To reject the proposals of the Pentagon."

From that point on until the deployment of the missiles, which began in late 1983, the Soviet front movement coordinated a propaganda campaign to reverse the NATO decision.

Needless to say, they failed in their original purpose, but not for lack of trying. We have some reprints of pamphlets that were distributed throughout Western Europe during the anti-IMF demonstrations that offer an illustration of the effort. But it is an effort that continues.

The International Conference for Disarmament and Detente, held in January of this year, was organized and directed covertly by the World Peace Council.

Senator PRESSLER. Where is that on the sheet that you just gave me?

Mr. COPP. It is the International Conference for Disarmament and Detente. That was a conference organized by the World Peace Council itself and is not on the sheet. It was covertly organized by the World Peace Council and it was actually the third of its kind to be held in Vienna since 1980.

It was attended by leaders and activists of peace organizations from 72 countries, and its principal raison d'etre was, of course, to stop the IMF.

The conference's final communique read in part, and I would like to quote it:

> There was a consensus in recognizing the greatly enhanced danger of nuclear war that has arisen from the development of medium range and first strike missiles in Europe and around the world and plans by the United States for developing space weapons. All agreed on the critical necessity to stop now the development of space weapons and reverse the deployment of medium range missiles in Europe.

So, the Soviet front effort against deployment of the cruise and Pershing II missiles continues.

A second example of the Soviet utilization of its fronts, and in this case their use as NGO's at the United Nations, came in June 1982, during the second special session of the U.N. General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

During the session, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko announced that the Soviet Union pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. The pledge was immediately heralded by the fronts, and shortly thereafter spokesmen of seven of the fronts, NGO members, had the opportunity to speak and have their opinions published in the official U.N. General Assembly record. All, of

course, hailed the Soviet ploy and attacked NATO and the United States for refusing to take the pledge.

Of course, the "no first use" line has been, since then, high on the lexicon of Soviet propaganda.

Presently, the central thrust of all Soviet front activity has been targeted on rejection of the strategic defense initiative.

In April, the leadership of 13 major fronts met in Helsinki to coordinate their plans to say no to star wars as the World Peace Council publication, Peace Courier, headlined it. Prior to the meeting, the World Peace Council had begun circulating globally an appeal which had the heading "Against Washington's Space Madness," and directly after the meeting, it published a pamphlet entitled "U.S. Space Offensive: The Road to Nuclear Annihilation."

Since then, the Soviet front campaign to attack and generate fear against SDI has been increasing. This position is manifested in all of their publications.

This summer, in Prague, the Christian Peace Conference held its Sixth All Christian Peace Assembly. The CPC is a Prague-based Soviet front nearly 30 years old, wrestling with the facade of Marxist-Christian unity.

About 800 members, observers, front leaders, and journalists from 97 countries, attended the week-long gathering. Many papers were given, many addresses made by CPC leaders on various problems that confront the world. But in this conference, there was a single theme that, like a drumbeat, was repeated over and over throughout the proceeding.

If I may, I would like to sum it up with a quote from the assembly's principal speaker, Metropolitan Paulos Mar Cregorios of India, a CPC vice president. He said the following:

> The purpose of the so-called strategic defense initiative is not security against Soviet aggression. The United States wants immunity from external challenges in order that it may carry out its own worldwide aggressive and exploitive schemes, without being questioned by any powerful force outside. It is not a Soviet threat that justifies SDI, but the desire of U.S. neocolonial and imperialist forces to control and exploit the economies of the world.

Throughout the summer, the message has been the same from all the fronts: The goal of the United States, according to all Soviet fronts, is the so-called militarization of space.

In the campaign, which is well organized and well articulated, there is a heavy accent on creating an all consuming fear of the United States. The Soviet Union is portrayed as the arbiter of peace, the United States as the evil empire, bringing the world to a nuclear abyss to be followed by a nuclear winter.

Certainly in the field of active measures, the Soviet Union believes the influence of their fronts is significant. Otherwise, they would not devote so much time and energy and money to their continuance.

Thank you.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, in making these presentations to foreign governments and to the foreign press, we have, of course, tried to use as many illustrations as possible of activities that take place in that country, forgeries that have surfaced in that country. We have been very pleasantly, perhaps not surprised, but it certainly was pleasant that the foreign government officials and for-

eign press have come back to us with examples that they were aware of that we were not. It has been a good two-way street.

I think to some extent, certainly in Europe but in other parts of the world as well, we have been able to succeed in sensitizing the host governments as well as some of the press to the nature of this kind of problem. So, when a forgery comes up or when a piece of disinformation shows up, serious journalists or friendly governments pick up the phone and call our Embassy.

This is tremendously helpful to us, to be able to respond quickly and to make sure that these things do not create the problems that they might potentially create.

Let me talk about one problem, though, that did happen, where we do not have a direct connection, but where we certainly have an implied connection.

After the mosque in Mecca was taken over by terrorists, the CIA publicly revealed that their information was that KGB officers had tasked their assets, those people that they controlled, to spread the false rumor that it was the CIA that had organized the takeover in Mecca.

This rumor was fairly widely circulated. We have no indication of a direct connection with KGB, except that they started the rumor, but it was repeated by a broadcaster in Pakistan during a sports match. This resulted in a riot that ended up with the burning of our Embassy in Islamabad.

So, these things sometimes can have very, very serious consequences.

We know from defector information that a campaign has been conducted, since the 1960's to identify so-called CIA officers. We also know from defector information that as part of that campaign, at least 50 percent of those so identified as CIA officers were not. They were other U.S. Government employees. The desire of the Soviets was to disrupt other U.S. Government functions.

We have two recent examples. In the material I discussed before, the Bulgarian and Soviet disinformation concerning the attempt to assassinate the Pope, they falsely identify a USIA officer as a CIA officer. We are quite concerned about this because a few years ago in Jamaica, when an AID employee was falsely identified as a CIA officer, a firefight took place outside his house as armed gunmen shot it out with police as they were trying to get him.

He has since resigned from the Agency for International Development. He said that he does not want to subject his family to this kind of activity.

So we are concerned about our people as well. Some serve in volatile parts of the world. We are concerned that this kind of false information can endanger our people.

Mr. HEICHLER. I might add, Senator, that I am one of those so honored. I am among the 50 percent whose names appear in the East German "Who's Who in the CIA," which came out in the 1960's, without ever having spent a day in the employ of the CIA."

However, one error—perhaps it was intentional—that was responsible for this is the blanketing of everybody who ever worked for the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research into this "Who's Who in the CIA."

Senator PRESSLER. What happened as a result? Is the United States doing the same thing to the Soviets? Should we be doing it? How do we solve the problem, or at least reduce the likelihood of damage?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Senator, you asked a question that we often get from people overseas in these briefings, which is doesn't the United States do the same kind of thing. Our answer is that we have seen forged letters signed by President Reagan and President Carter and President Ford. We have never seen a forged letter signed by Andropov or Chernenko or Gorbachev. We have never seen the kind of things that the Soviets do, done by anybody else, except in wartime. In World War II, there were many deceptive things, forgeries and so on, that were done to deceive the enemy in a wartime situation.

But the Soviets do these things in peacetime. They do things far beyond anything that anybody would think legitimate.

The answer and the thing we have been trying to do, is we believe we can defeat forgeries and disinformation by truth. We do not spread disinformation as a weapon ourselves, in part for the moral reasons, but in part also for the very practical reason, that we are very proud of and very jealous of our credibility. We don't want material showing up on Voice of America or in our print media that is not true, and we very, very carefully screen the material that goes out to make sure that it is true.

As I say, we are proud of our reputation for honesty, and we believe that people around the world take us seriously when we make a statement.

Senator PRESSLER. It appears that much of the disinformation stems from organizations such as the World Peace Council, from various Christian groups, from the All-Arab Women's Federation, the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace, or the Asian Christian Peace Conference, for example. It appears that the media, religion, and educational bodies are used by the Soviets most frequently. Thus, average European is unlikely to be aware that this disinformation is really coming from the Soviets. The Soviets apparently are skillful enough to use surrogate groups that have very respectable-sounding names.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

What has happened is that some of these Soviet surrogate groups, such as the World Peace Council, have been so well exposed in the European media that people are pretty well aware of what they are. So they operate through their own surrogates. They set up groups called the International Liaison Forum of Peace Forces, or Generals for Peace, which spread the same World Peace Council materials but with a slightly better facade.

Part of our job is to make sure that people understand this is all the same ball game, that this is not a different group, but is the same group.

Senator PELL. May I interrupt for a second?

The Generals for Peace group, I have met some of them. Are you saying that they are propelled by these communist front organizations? I found those whom I met to be a very respectable group of people who had served their various military services and had retired.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

The Generals for Peace was set up after a decision made by the World Peace Council to establish this organization.

Nino Pasti, who is one of the top leaders in the organization, has run and been elected to the Parliament in Italy on the Communist Party ticket. However, General Bastien of Germany, who had been very active in Generals for Peace, recently made some very serious criticisms of the so-called peace organizations that lean toward the East.

The Generals for Peace material is printed by the World Peace Council.

Now, I am sure that some of the generals who have signed these statements were unaware of the background of the group. But the Soviets, through the World Peace Council, provide the logistical support to keep such an organization going, to get its printing done, to get its people traveling from one place to another.

It is an unfortunate fact that they are able to use people who were very important in NATO at one time—many of these generals were significant—in this kind of campaign. Nino Pasti, particularly, has shown up in many Soviet propaganda films and travels around the world to make anti-American statements.

[The information referred to follows:]

GENERALS FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

Generalmajor Gert Bastian (BRD)

General Johan Christie (Norway)

Marshal Francisco da Costa Gomes (Portugal)

Brigadier Michael Harbottle OBE (United Kingdom)

Major General Leonard V. Johnson (Canada)

General Georgios Koumanakos (Greece)

General Rangel de Lima (Portugal)

Admiral Miltiades Papathanassiou (Greece)

General-major Michiel H. von Meyenfeldt, Chairman (Netherlands)

General Nini Pasti (Italy)

Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti (France)

Brigadier Michalis Tombopoulos (Greece)

Generalmajor Gunter Vollmer (FRG)

House of Lords

Tuesday, 30th October 1984

The House met at half-past two of the clock. The LORD CHANCELLOR on the Woolsack.

Prayers—Read by the Lord Bishop of Chelmsford.

"Generals For Peace" Organisation: Security

2.38 p.m.

Lord Chalfont: My Lords, I beg leave to ask the second Question standing in my name on the Order Paper.

The Question was as follows:

To ask Her Majesty's Government whether they are aware of the activities of the organisation known as "Generals for Peace", and whether they are of the opinion that these activities are consistent with the maintenance of security in the free world.

The Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office (Baroness Young): My Lords, we are aware of the activities of this organisation, which originated in discussions at Sofia during a World Peace Council Congress in 1980. The collective views of Generals for Peace and Disarmament are contrary to those of the Government and our allies. The Government's policy is of course to preserve the security of the United Kingdom and the countries of the Western Alliance.

Lord Chalfont: My Lords, while thanking the noble Baroness for that Answer, may I ask whether the Government are aware that of the eight founder members of this organisation, which purports to consist of NATO generals, four are members of the World Peace Council, a notorious Soviet front organisation? Is she further aware that the founder and controller of this organisation until very recently was Dr. Gerhard Kade, who is a senior figure in the Soviet propaganda apparatus? Is it not a matter of grave concern that an organisation posing as NATO Generals for Peace might be the instrument of disseminating Soviet disinformation?

Baroness Young: My Lords, we are fully aware of the close links between four of the original sponsors and five of the current 14 members of the so-called generals group and the World Peace Council. Dr. Gerhard Kade, their co-ordinator until last year, is also an official of the World Peace Council in Helsinki and of its subsidiary, the International Institute for Peace in Vienna.

Lord Home of the Hirsel: My Lords, is my noble friend aware that I can remember as far back as 1938 and a famous Secretary-General of the Communist International giving instructions as to how to recruit people into the Russian peace organisations? His words, I remember, were, "One sympathiser, a writer of reputation or a retired general is worth more than 500 poor devils who know no better."

Lord Brockway: My Lords, is the Minister aware that this is an organisation of ex-generals and admirals of both the West and the East, and even those who have commanded United Nations forces? Is she further aware that its purpose is to prevent a nuclear war, with all its threat to mankind? Is that not the stated purpose of the Government, and therefore should not this organisation be welcomed?

Baroness Young: No, my Lords. These retired officers from NATO countries in no sense represent

[BARONESS YOUNG]

the alliance of their countries. They claim in fact that they are working for disarmament but they have been strongly critical of Western strategy. They have particularly attacked the deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles. They have endorsed the Warsaw Pact disarmament proposals and have wholly failed to protest at the Soviet Government's recent stationing of nuclear missiles in Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

The Earl of Kimberley: My Lords, would my noble friend agree that the danger of this type of Soviet disinformation is enhanced when two national newspapers like the *Guardian* and the *Observer* publish accounts of Generals for Peace without any mention of their connections with the Soviet Union? Is she also aware that when this evidence was produced for the *Observer* the editor categorically refused to print it?

Baroness Young: My Lords, I am aware of the point that my noble friend has made. The fact is that in this country we have a tradition of responsible newspapers printing relevant facts and any lapses from such a high standard would be regrettable.

Lord Cledwyn of Penrhos: My Lords, is the Minister aware that the British officer among these generals is an officer with a distinguished record whatever may be his views about strategy or armaments? Would it not be quite wrong to give the impression in this House that we all regard him as a mole, a red under the bed, or a communist stooge? Is he not entitled to his views on these matters without being so branded?

Baroness Young: My Lords, in a free society the officer in question is as entitled to express his views as anybody else. But it is a dangerous matter when the suggestion is made that these people are speaking on behalf of NATO or the NATO allies, or are writing on their behalf when, in fact, they are retired generals.

Lord Cledwyn of Penrhos: My Lords, the Minister is right to say that this officer is as entitled to express his view as everyone else in this country. Is he also not entitled to be excluded from being described as a communist, a traitor, a red under the bed, or any other unpleasant name which people direct at him? Will the noble Baroness be quite clear in what she says about that?

Baroness Young: My Lords, I do not think that in any of the exchanges that have taken place across the Floor of the House this afternoon anyone has described Brigadier Harbottle in those terms. What the noble Lord, Lord Chalfont, drew attention to was the link between this organisation and the World Peace Council which I have supported.

Lord Cledwyn of Penrhos: My Lords, I am glad that the noble Baroness mentioned Brigadier Harbottle, but was it not quite clear from the implication of what was said by her and others that he was so regarded? Would she not agree that he is a distinguished ex-officer with a good record?

Baroness Young: My Lords, we are not discussing the record of any particular person. The point that has been made in this exchange is that there is a link between this organisation and the World Peace Council.

Viscount Trenchard: My Lords, is my noble friend aware—she seems to be very well aware of a great many of the activities of this organisation—that ex-General M. H. von Mexenfeldt, who I understand is presently chairman of this posse of generals, wrote in the journal of the World Peace Council in October 1981:

> "The foreign policy of the USA is aimed at retaining its position of strength and returning to its old plans of world domination."

Does my noble friend agree that while we must be careful of spotting any particular reds under beds we should also be careful of wolves in sheeps' clothing and possibly even of bears in doves' plumage?

Baroness Young: Yes, my Lords, I would agree with my noble friend.

Lord Jenkins of Putney: My Lords, is the noble Baroness aware that if instead of listening to this somewhat inflamatory Question and Answer, noble Lords would read the document *Generals for Peace and Disarmament* which may be obtained in the Library, they would discover that the policies put forward by the Generals for Peace are almost identical in many respects with those of Her Majesty's Opposition?

Noble Lords: Oh!

Lord Jenkins of Putney: My Lords, in these circumstances is it not highly undesirable that the defence committee of this House should be under the control of people who take such a biased view of the whole situation?

Baroness Young: My Lords, it is not for me to show that the policy of Generals for Peace and the policy of Her Majesty's Opposition are the same. I should have thought that there were divided views on that matter. I would hope that that was the case.

Baroness Cox: My Lords, is my noble friend the Minister aware that the organisation called the Centre for International Peacebuilding, which houses Generals for Peace and whose director is their administrator, has set up a registered charity called the Caroline Gourlay Trust? Might this matter not be brought to the urgent attention of the Charity Commission in view of what many people regard as the blatantly pro-Soviet propaganda distributed by these organisations?

Baroness Young: My Lords, there are very strict rules regulating the conduct of registered charities, particularly regarding activities of a political character. The points that my noble friend has made, if valid, are no doubt for the consideration of the Charity Commissioners or for my right honourable and learned friend the Attorney-General.

Lord Chalfont: My Lords, is the noble Baroness The Minister aware that I am grateful for the robust answers that she has given to my Question? Is she also aware that I accused no one of being a traitor, least of all the British member of this strange organisation? Is she aware that in my view the links between this organisation and the Soviet propaganda organisation are a matter of concern? Would she not agree that the fact that ex-NATO generals who held very high positions should now be meeting serving Soviet generals to discuss strategy in Western Europe is a matter of the gravest concern?

Baroness Young: My Lords, I agree with the points that the noble Lord, Lord Chalfont, has made. In fact, the meetings which have taken place, and the third meeting which has recently taken place in Vienna, have in many respects been gifts to Soviet propaganda. In practice these meetings have been stage managed by the Soviet-controlled International Institute for Peace—the Vienna counterpart of the World Peace Council in Helsinki—from whose former offices it operates.

Lord Jenkins of Putney: My Lords, may I trespass for one moment?

Lord Denham: My Lords, I wonder whether the noble Lord, Lord Jenkins, would give way? We have been nine minutes on this Question. Perhaps the House might agree that after the noble Lord, Lord Jenkins, has put his question and my noble friend has answered we should move on.

Lord Jenkins of Putney: My Lords, I am most grateful to the noble Lord. I merely wanted to ask the noble Baroness whether she was aware that what I am about to quote is from the pamphlet issued by Generals for Peace. This quotation will commend itself to the whole House:

> One must recognise the wisdom of the wartime slogan 'Know your enemy'.

Baroness Young: My Lords, I am sure that we all agree that we should know our enemies.

Europeans cry "NO!"

American first-strike weapons on the doorstep of the Soviet Union are the most appropriate fuse for touching off a nuclear world war.

Americans, we beseech you:

Do not deploy Pershing II and Cruise Missiles in Europe!

For the sake of humankind– Don't do it!

MARSHALL Francisco da Costa GOMES
Former President of the Republic of Portugal

GENERAL (ret.) Michael A. HARBOTTLE
United Kingdom

GENERAL (ret.) Michel Hermann [illegible] MEYENFELDT
Netherlands

GENERAL (ret.) Nino PASTI
Senator of the Republic of Italy

GENERAL (ret.) Gunter VOLLMER
Federal Republic of Germany

GENERAL (ret.) Michalakes PAPATHANASIOU
Greece

GENERAL (ret.) Georgios KOUMANAKOS
Greece

ADMIRAL (ret.) Antoine SANGUINETTI
France

GENERAL (ret.) [illegible] BASTIAN
Federal Republic of Germany
Former NATO General

GENERAL (ret.) Jonar CHRISTIE
Norway

GENERAL (ret.) Michalis TOMBOPOULOS
Greece

Initiative des [illegible] durée en BERLINER COMPAGNIE des Genres Frais Schönhauser Str. 100, Mess-Nr. 12

Senator PELL. Thank you very much.

Mr. HEICHLER. Senator, if I may add a word to this, the front organizations, large or small, old or new, share one innate weakness. They are not given sufficient flexibility to deviate to any significant extent from the official Moscow policy line.

This surprised me to some extent. In a conversation with Stanislaw Levchenko, one of the more important defectors in the active measures field, I asked why an organization, for example, like the World Peace Council, did not, from time to time, take a position somewhat independent of that of Moscow. His answer was that Moscow is too rigid, too inflexible, too afraid to permit this. This unfailing, total acceptance of the Soviet line, this parrot-like repetition of anti-American propaganda, makes it a great deal easier to expose and discredit the front organizations than might be the case otherwise.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. We had a very recent example of that, Senator, in Moscow, during the Twelfth World Youth Festival.

The Soviets had set up a festival and brought together about 20,000 foreign participants, ostensibly as part of International Youth Year. They promised many of the West Europeans that they would have an opportunity for a free discussion and for expressing their views.

Well no sooner did the festival start that one Swedish delegate got up and began talking about Afghanistan. She found that her words were not being translated. A Venezuelan delegate stood up and began talking about oppression in Cuba and Nicaragua, and they came over to him and advised him that he should not stay at this festival, that his life was in danger.

This heavy-handed restriction is characteristic. In a situation where the Soviet people would never have heard these speeches anyway—this was done only within the framework of this festival and only the other delegates would have heard it—nevertheless, Moscow had to clamp a heavy hand down and prevent these people from having their viewpoints heard. The inflexibility that Mr. Heichler talks about is one of their Achilles heels, because that antagonized these West European young people who had come there for a free discussion.

Mr. HEICHLER. Another case in point, Senator, is the following. The role of the European peace movement and the question to what extent is it being manipulated by Moscow has been a major question in the last few years, given the all-out Soviet effort to prevent deployment of modern intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

Here, again, those peace groups, which dare to attack the East as well as the West, for their nuclear policy have been brutally suppressed in Eastern Europe.

Senator PRESSLER. What do the Soviets spend on their active measures effort? Do you have any idea? Is it mostly directed toward Europe or is it directed toward Africa just as much?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. It is directed worldwide.

A few years ago, there was a CIA public estimate of something like $3 billion a year. That to some extent does not take into account some of the things the Soviets are able to accomplish without spending any money.

The fact that they have available to them Communist parties in various countries that are subservient to the Soviet Union is an example. Now, many of these parties receive subsidies from the Soviet Government, but some of them are mass parties that are able to raise their own money and put out propaganda and materials on behalf of the Soviets without the Soviets having to spend a penny.

It is a very, very great amount and nothing that anybody else in the world has could compare to it. Nobody else in the world has the opportunity to have in the target countries people who adhere to a foreign government like those who adhere to the Government of the Soviet Union. I mean, we do not have an American Party in the Soviet Union. Among our West European allies, we have friends, but we do not control the people in Western Europe. The Soviets have control over groups in Western Europe and the United States, the American Communist Party, for example, that they can use in operations against the West.

Senator PRESSLER. Does the United States pursue active cooperation with our European allies, particularly with their intelligence services, in exposing and combating Soviet active measures?

Mr. HEICHLER. We do, sir. Certainly every time we visit an allied country in our active measures trips we make contact with the host country foreign ministry and intelligence services to discuss cooperation. It is also a matter of exchanges without our physical presence on the scene.

We, of course, are the principal target. Other countries have been targeted from time to time, but never to the extent that we have been. As a result, the interest in active measures, the efforts to counter them, the existence, let's say, of an interagency group comparable to the one I have the honor of chairing, is not all that great. It is not too easy to obtain the kind of cooperation that you refer to.

Senator PRESSLER. What about Soviets in the United States, such as the people in the embassies, their journalists or their tourists? Do they engage in active measures while they are in the United States, or is that not one of your concerns? Perhaps that is more a concern of the FBI?

Mr. HEICHLER. Sir, the FBI is an active participant in our active measures interagency group.

I do not have the impression that the Soviets mount very much of an effort in this regard.

Earlier, I mentioned the so-called Olympic hate leaflets, which were attributed to the Ku Klux Klan. These were mailed from American post offices. Interestingly enough, these were post offices in the immediate vicinity of Washington those sent to Africa were mailed from a post office in northern Virginia, and those addressed to Asia were mailed from a post office in Prince Georges County. My only point is that both are within driving distance of a Washington-based entity.

Here is a case where, I suspect, the general idea was proposed to the station here and carried out here, but not carried out very well, done rather hurriedly, and sent out from American post offices.

Another example of where an active measure clearly originated here, is a letter which Northrop Aviation allegedly sent to a South

African Air Force general, offering him a demonstration flight in the Northrop F-20 Tigershark, with an intent to sell these aircraft to the South Africans.

This letter was a forgery only in the sense that the address of the South African general appears on it. It was otherwise a letter that Northrop has used in trying to interest other clients in its aircraft. It obviously was prevented from doing so in the case of South Africa because of the embargo.

The letter was reproduced rather prominently in an European periodical that covers Africa, Jeune Afrique, which is published in Paris, including the envelope in which it was sent. The envelope interested us. It was clearly mailed from the United States to South Africa, but it shows 20 cents postage, which would not have gotten it there.

[The letter referred to follows:]

NORTHROP

1900-82-87
Vice President - Marketing

9 September 1982

FORGERY

Lieutenant General A. M. Muller
Commander in Chief
South African Air Force
SASCAF Headquarters
Pretoria, South Africa

Dear General Muller:

I am happy to announce that the Tigershark completed an outstanding first flight on 30 August 1982, ahead of schedule. The Tigershark reached 1.04 Mach at 40,000 feet on its first flight, and we anticipate a very successful flight test program.

As a first phase of a two-phase customer participation program, I invite you or your designee to join the Northrop/USAF flight test team to observe the Tigershark's performance firsthand from the backseat of our company-owned F-5F Tiger II. We have set aside the period from mid-October through the end of 1982 for these observation evaluation flights. Should your travel plans include a trip to the Los Angeles area during that period, we will be happy to arrange for and cover the expense of your hotel accommodations, meals and local transportation during your visit to Northrop.

Since Northrop maintains a full range of life support equipment (flying suits, boots, helmets, oxygen masks, etc.), it will not be necessary to bring your own equipment unless you so desire.

The second phase, due to commence in mid-January 1983, will include test flights by your qualified pilots who we would recommend be accompanied by your technical and logistics experts.

To facilitate scheduling, it will be very helpful if we could have an early expression of your desire for an F-5F observation flight. In later correspondence we will coordinate pilot qualification and check out requirements for the second phase of the evaluation.

We are looking forward to your evaluation of the Tigershark.

Sincerely,

R. A. Graham

R. A. Graham

Northrop Corporation • Aircraft Division • One Northrop Avenue Hawthorne California 90250 • Telephone (213) 970-4600

Senator PRESSLER. These issues are certainly not widely covered in the media. I have heard a number of things in the last couple of days that I had never heard before. Where are the headlines?

Is the situation different in Europe? Do they lack media attention on this matter also? Why do some of these disinformation attempts have so much credibility?

Mr. HEICHLER. Senator, I don't know that they do have all that much credibility. I think perhaps less in Europe than on other continents. And I think we are successful, over time, in raising awareness, in raising consciousness about this problem, particularly among opinion leaders and the media. To the extent that we have made the media more aware than they used to be that this sort of thing does go on, that it is not an absurd idea of ours, they are increasingly inclined to check an incoming, anonymous document far more carefully than they used to be. In that sense, we are able to stifle, to silence, active measures.

I think there is a slowly increasing awareness in the public that that kind of campaign is being waged.

I am not saying that we have succeeded. Far from it. But I think we are making some progress.

Senator PRESSLER. Several of the documents which describe Soviet active measures are available on the table outside the room.

I want to thank you very much for your testimony. Your remarks here today, and the evidence that you have presented, are very frightening.

Let me ask one more question.

At what level, in your judgment, would a decision be made to use a document like the forged letter from Ambassador Helene von Damm. At what level in the KGB would a decision to write such a letter be made? Could it be made locally in Europe?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. It was probably done locally in Europe. But something of that sophistication probably was done on Moscow headquarters' instruction. But more to the point, to have done something like that would have required the highest levels of the Soviet Government to make a decision that they wanted to promote that particular campaign at that particular time.

Senator PRESSLER. Would it have been done at the Politburo level?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The Politburo would have had to decide that the campaign itself should be conducted, and the actual carrying out of the campaign would have been assigned to KGB. But, for that kind of sophisticated forgery, it probably would have required the headquarters of KGB.

One possibility is that the stolen letterhead was not actually stolen in Vienna. It might have been stolen from one of our embassies in another part of the world because we use the same letterheads in different places.

Senator PRESSLER. What about the Clarence Brown letter to the German firms? At what level of decisionmaking would that have been done?

Mr. HEICHLER. We can only speculate, Senator.

We have been told by Soviet defectors that the decisions on a general campaign are made at a very, very high level—the Politburo, as you suggested, the Information Department of the Central

Committee. At what level the specific target, the specific execution is decided, is usually not clear to us, and we can only guess.

Here, again, I think this is a very similar case. There may well have been a policy decision at an extremely high level to go out and irritate some German businessmen about the United States, but leaving it to a lower technical level just how to do it.

Senator PRESSLER. I should stress that the United States is not pursuing active measures against the Soviets. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, absolutely.

Senator, a question was raised before about operations in and against the United States.

We are often asked that question abroad. In the early days of the briefing teams—this is before I participated in them—they did not have data to provide Europeans with information on what was going on in the United States. But in December 1982, the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence released testimony by the FBI on KGB active measures within the United States. We try in briefings overseas not to go beyond what the FBI presented in that briefing and in a subsequent declassified document in 1983.

But we use that basic material, which covers the work of KGB officers attempting to influence American groups including the funding through the KGB of the American Communist Party and its front organizations.

For example, a number of the international Soviet fronts have affiliates in the United States run by the American Communist Party. The World Peace Council has something called the U.S. Peace Council, for which the American Communist Party provides the cadre; the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which helped organize the Youth Festival in Moscow this summer has as an affiliate in the United States, the Young Communist League of the United States.

So, there is a certain amount of activity being conducted here by the Soviets and by those who accept the instructions or the advice of the Soviets.

Senator PRESSLER. Our last panel will be talking about active measures, taken by the Soviets against United States citizens, and we look forward to hearing from them.

Gentlemen, I thank you very much.

Other Senators may have questions for the record. We thank you very much for your testimony.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Thank you.

Senator PRESSLER. Now I will call forward our final panel.

Our final panel this morning is composed of two distinguished officials of Polish-American organizations based in the United States. They are Ted Kontek, a director of Friends of Solidarity, and Dr. Magnus Krynski, spokesman for Pomost and Professor of Slavic Literature at Duke University.

Mr. Kontek is director and chairman of the immigration task force of Friends of Solidarity, Inc., an independent, charitable, nonprofit organization, registered in the District of Columbia. The organization was founded to increase American public awareness of Poland's Solidarity movement, and to organize moral and other

support for the people of Poland, especially members of Solidarity and their families, both in Poland and abroad.

In his capacity as director, Mr. Kontek has made speeches, conducted seminars and interviews, and organized events in support of the organization's goal.

Mr. Magnus Krynski is the Washington representative of Pomost, a nonprofit, social and political organization. He is chairman of the Freedom Federation International Trade Committee. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia in 1962.

We look forward to hearing from you, gentlemen. Please proceed.

STATEMENT OF THADDEUS L. KONTEK, DIRECTOR, FRIENDS OF SOLIDARITY, INC.

Mr. KONTEK. Thank you. I would like to put up some visual aides that we have brought along, and then I will begin my statement.

Senator PRESSLER. All right, fine.

[Pause.]

Mr. KONTEK. Mr. Chairman, at the onset I would like to thank you very much for allowing us to share with you our experience with Soviet active measures.

Our group, the Friends of Solidarity, is not a very large one. I'd like to tell you a little bit about our activity because we seem to be such an unlikely target of Soviet active measures.

The testimony we have heard earlier today about active measures taken against our Government is to some degree understandable. Ours, a small group, with no permanent staff, involved simply in volunteer human rights, charitable activities here in the United States, and groups similar to ours, have less understandably also been the objects of various kinds of Soviet active measures.

The bulk of our activity in the United States has been in organizing food and material assistance for the needy people of Poland during martial law. In addition to that, we have organized various conferences and panel discussions on the human rights situation in Poland and have tried to provide information to various agencies and Government bodies about the situation when such information was not otherwise available.

The very fact that Soviet active measures reached down so far into these types of organizations is, I think, a bit frightening and something that should be of concern to both you, Mr. Chairman, and members of our Government.

Our group is part of a coalition of groups called the Conference of Solidarity Support Organizations, which we helped found. The conference is currently made up of organizations like ours in the United States, Canada, and in Western Europe. Pretty much all major Solidarity support organizations in the United States cooperate with the conference.

I would like to begin by giving you some examples of the types of active measures that have been taken against our group. Much of the activity that has been taken cannot be documented, as we heard earlier. But where we have been able to pick up some traces, I am going to be able to go through these instances with you.

The first example I do not have a visual aide for but I do have a tape recording of a Radio Moscow broadcast about our organiza-

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tion. At the time of this broadcast, in January 1983, 90 percent of our activity was directed at providing medical supplies to Poland. Yet, at this time——

Senator PRESSLER. Where was this broadcast?

Mr. KONTEK. This broadcast was intercepted in Brussels, Belgium. It was directed to Poland.

Senator PRESSLER. So this was not an activity inside the United States?

Mr. KONTEK. This specific one was not. But the next one that I will go into, is based on this broadcast, was.

It is in Polish, so I will just turn it down a little bit as background, and the tape is available for any kind of technological verification or other use.

Senator PRESSLER. How long is it? If it is in Polish, I won't be able to understand it.

Mr. KONTEK. I'm just going to play a few seconds of it. I will just leave it running and summarize to you what it does say. An exact translation of the relevant portion is included as example 1.

[A tape recording was played]

Mr. KONTEK. This specific segment, after discussing our group and similar groups being organized in the United States, asks the rhetorical question of what are these groups to do. According to the broadcast, the groups are setting up training camps for "bandits" and refugees in southern Florida run by the CIA. In continuing as to what the specific tasks of these "bandits" who will be infiltrated back to Poland will be, the broadcast goes on to say that "they are being trained in how to conduct public massacres with grenades and in how to hang and murder pregnant women who are loyal to the regime." Once again, at this time our group and similar groups were involved primarily in providing humanitarian assistance to the people of Poland.

The broadcast contains a number of factual errors. It states that our group is affiliated with the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University. We do have an affiliation with Georgetown University, but it is with the Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance, and it has, in essence, been just a matter of them providing us some office space.

It also states that we work in close contact with Drs. Kissinger, Schlesinger, and Brzezinski. It would certainly be an honor for our organization to work with these individuals, but, unfortunately, these types of connections do not exist.

On the basis of this broadcast, an article appeared in the Soviet weekly called "New Times." I have it reproduced up here, and it is also in the packet of exhibits that I have included to back up my presentation.

The article itself was significantly modified and toned down, but it contains the key elements of the broadcast: the affiliation with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the setting up of terrorist organizations. However, the article seems to focus more on alleged connections with the AFL-CIO, which were not mentioned in the Radio Moscow broadcast. I guess even the Soviets were embarrassed by this broadcast which alleged our plans for hanging pregnant women and modified it for worldwide consumption in their news weekly magazine.

The third exhibit that I have for you is a forgery of a letter sent to an organization similar to ours in New York. It is on this side of the room [indicating], and technically it is a very crude forgery. It contains basic errors in style and language. It is written in Polish. I don't know if you notice the text running off to the right side of the page, onto the margin. That is a very typical bureaucratic manner of writing in Eastern European countries. The way the date is written [indicating], is also very uncommon.

Senator PRESSLER. Was this letter prepared in the United States?

Mr. KONTEK. Yes, absolutely.

Senator PRESSLER. This is an active measure of the Soviets undertaken in the United States?

Mr. KONTEK. That's correct.

Senator PRESSLER. But, it is written in Polish?

Mr. KONTEK. It is written in Polish, yes.

Senator PRESSLER. It was mailed from where to where?

Mr. KONTEK. From Washington, DC, to New York.

Senator PRESSLER. It is supposedly from you—or, from whom?

Mr. KONTEK. The forged signature on the letter is of Christopher Ludwiniak, who was at our group's initiation, the president. He left about 3 months thereafter. So the signature was 2 years out of date when this letter was sent out.

Senator PRESSLER. To whom was it sent?

Mr. KONTEK. It was sent to an organization called the Committee in Support of Solidarity, which is in New York, a similar organization to ours. They are more in the line of publishing accounts of human rights violations in Poland. They have been in that business since 1968. They are a very active group and relatively well funded.

This letter, which is not addressed to anyone specifically, is very insulting to the committee in New York. It states that our group, Friends of Solidarity, are the only ones who can represent Solidarity, our group, Friends of Solidarity, in the United States, and that anybody who does not agree to cooperate with us and coordinate their activities with us can be considered a danger.

Finally, the letter ends with the threat that if the committee and the directors of the committee do not agree to immediately come to terms with our organization, that we will denounce members of their group as Communist agents.

Now, the committee is very sensitive to these types of forgeries. This is not the only one they have received.

Senator PRESSLER. What did they do when they received the letter?

Mr. KONTEK. They just basically let us know that they got it.

Senator PRESSLER. They knew it was a forgery right away?

Mr. KONTEK. That's right. The style is very clear.

There is another technical aspect. We never translate our name, Friends of Solidarity, into the Polish language. All of the material that is included in Polish and which we feel represents acts by Communist agents always has our name translated. So that is another sign that it did not come from us.

I mentioned many of the factual errors that are contained in both the Radio Moscow broadcast, the "New Times" article and in this forged letter. Obviously, information-gathering activities must

be conducted among these groups by Communist agents. A couple of months ago, I was given a questionnaire by a Solidarity activist in Canada and asked to fill it out. It asked for specific information about our groups. That is actually the next exhibit, No. 4.

I looked at the questionnaire and I told the person that the questions were highly objectionable, and would they mind explaining to me who asked for this kind of information. At that point, the person backed down immediately and said well, you are right, they are objectionable, never mind, and, upon my pressing where the questionnaire came from and who asked that it be filled out, I was told that Solidarity officials in Paris had asked for this data, that they were trying to keep tabs on what kind of groups support Solidarity.

I called Paris and checked and, of course, no one had ever heard of any kind of questionnaire or sanctioned anything like it. I did not give the copy of the questionnaire back. It is included in the exhibit package as exhibit 4.

The type of information that is asked for is extremely detailed. I will just read a few of the points. An exact translation is in the examples. It asks for "the names, addresses, telephones, hours of duty"—I'm not sure what that means—"names of persons, short summary of activity of all institutions and Solidarity groups, Polish ethnic, and those sympathetic or interested in Poland in the USA and Canada, and/or in other countries of both Americas, if you have such information."

It goes on and on to ask about various antagonisms among persons—various personality quirks of specific persons. It asks about the personalities of political leaders in the United States who are sympathetic or supportive of Solidary, and so on.

Senator PRESSLER. I must interrupt. I have to leave to vote. I will come right back. We are in the second 7½ minutes of a 15-minute rollcall vote.

Please hold everything until either I or another Senator returns. Excuse me.

[A brief recess was taken.]

Senator PRESSLER. I will call this hearing back to order.

It appears that many of these forgeries are very crude. Certainly, some of the ones that have been caught are very crude. However, there have been some very sophisticated forgeries that were described in closed session and elsewhere that have succeeded.

In any event, please proceed.

Mr. KONTEK. OK.

To continue on with examples of active measures taken against our group and against Solidarity support groups around the world, I don't have a copy of the letter with me, but some time ago, your former colleague, Senator Percy, received a letter allegedly from the Brussels Information Office of Solidarity that spoke about a legitimate concern, the situation of Polish refugees here in the United States.

A similar letter was sent to President Reagan. It was very authentic, very understandable, because that is an area of great concern.

However, the tone and the manner of the demands in the letter could do nothing but to leave a negative impression of the Solidari-

ty movement. It would also serve to buttress the Polish Government's contention that members of Solidarity are arrogant, unreasonable, and not serious people.

Mr. KONTEK. So, this kind of activity does go on all the time.

These are the examples that we can document. But other types of events occur in our community that one can reasonably suspect are directed by Polish agents or Soviet agents. I can also briefly summarize those.

Specifically among these is intimidation among the refugee community. It has been well known for quite some time by the leadership of the community that for some reason many of the Polish newcomers do not participate in demonstrations, rallies, and things like that, even though they came here as political refugees.

About 1½ years ago, the President of our group, Mr. Christopher Michejda, received a telephone call from an FBI agent in the Frederick, MD office. He was advised by this FBI agent that the FBI had received information that newcomers were receiving telephone calls and being warned and reminded that they had family back home. Usually these calls preceded some kind of demonstration or event planned by either our or other Polish-American groups protesting martial law or decrying the human rights situation in Poland.

To counter somewhat an earlier statement made by a witness from the USIA here, these calls were being made by people who are on exchange programs here in the United States.

It is our contention and our belief that a percentage—and I would not dare speculate as to what percentage—but a percentage of the people who do come here on various types of exchange programs are engaged in acts of intimidation and manipulation of the community.

These facts have been reported to the FBI by the individuals affected themselves.

Another instance of this type of activity or a similar activity is where Polish officials are involved. We know that at every demonstration, rally, or event that we sponsor, we do have agents or people who inform for the Polish Government. There are always a few people who are taking pictures, very detailed pictures of the participants.

Some time ago, a member of our organization went to the Polish consulate here in Washington, DC, and asked for a visa, whereupon the consul excused himself and came back a few minutes later with a list of names that he started flipping through. He informed the individual that since he was a member of a subversive organization that is hostile to the interests of the Polish Peoples Republic, he could not be given a visa.

Now, whether this list was real or not, I do not know. But the effect was there. The person was intimidated; the person was frightened.

In another similar situation, a member of an organization that has long existed in the United States, specifically the Polish Veterans Association, veterans from World War II, also went to ask for a visa in the Polish consulate. She was also informed that it would be very difficult, in a very nice manner, with coffee and cakes being offered, that they would like to help her out, but since she belongs

to this subversive organization, it would be much better if she would resign from it.

This person did, in fact, get a visa without resigning. But I think it points out to what degree and to what extent, both official and unofficial, persons representing Poland are involved in these types of activities and intimidating the Polish-American community. Both the individuals asking for visas were, of course, U.S. citizens.

Finally, our Solidarity support groups have been attacked, have been accused of being CIA fronts in the Communist press. Once again, when you say measures here in the United States, any kind of article that we see appearing in the Polish press or the Soviet press relies on very specific information that had to have been acquired here. So not only are these articles evidence of defamation campaigns against these types of groups, but they also indicate that, clearly, there are people within our communities and within our organizations that are informing on a regular basis, albeit not always with very accurate information.

A group that has been very viciously attacked for a long time now is the Pomost organization. Unlike our groups, they are very militant and they are political. Our groups are charitable and nonprofit. They enjoy the sympathy of, but sometimes are controversial even within the Polish-American community. The types of attacks that have been made in the Polish press primarily against this group really defy all bounds.

Professor Krynski, after I am finished, will specifically refer to examples from the Polish press. But I would like to direct your attention to two items. One is example 1 in the Pomost exhibit package. Under Pomost letterhead, a forged statement of purpose was disseminated among the very large Polish-American community of Chicago in 1982. In this statement of purpose, the Pomost organization claims that the mainstream organization for Polish-Americans, the Polish-American Congress, is obsolete, has no right to exist, and that only Pomost can represent the interests of Polish-Americans in the United States. It also tries to exacerbate generational differences by referring to the "Old Polonia," and accuses the traditional Polish-American leadership of acting only for personal financial gain, of being ideologically bankrupt, and so on and so forth.

This was a forgery that was very, very successful. To this day, those two organizations are at each other's throats. To this day, their publications regularly denounce each other.

The Polish-American Congress is an umbrella group, the largest Polish-American organization in the United States. Pomost is a much smaller group, much more militant and very vocal. That these two groups who are in the Polish-American public's eye the most should be fighting with each other to this degree is a tremendous success on the part of Polish disinformation services.

The Pomost organization did request an FBI investigation of this letter. A copy of the letter to the FBI officials is also included in the examples.

The second example that I would like to point out is example 8 from the Pomost package. It is reproduced on the wall in the back of the room.

Sometime in 1982, this article appeared in a newspaper in Poznan. It was another attack on the Pomost organization and it started out by decrying the treatment of Archbishop Glemp, the Polish primate, during his visit to the United States, seeming to signify that even they, the Communist authorities, were abhored by the type of treatment that was afforded this man of God by Pomost.

Unfortunately, the trip never took place. Cardinal Glemp canceled his trip before coming here. They had the news stories prepared and ready to go, and obviously this newspaper just forgot to pull the story.

It shows you an example of how Communist agents prepare for events that are coming up.

We are having some events come up very soon this month, so I do anticipate a resurgence of Communist disinformation activity in this regard.

Senator PRESSLER. That was a newspaper published where?

Mr. KONTEK. In Poznan, in Poland.

Senator PRESSLER. So that is outside the United States?

Mr. KONTEK. That is outside the United States. But, once again, it refers very specifically to organizational structures, names, things like that, of groups here in the United States.

I would like to say a few words about the goals of these active measures directed against our groups and against the Polish-American community.

Obviously, as has been said here earlier, the Communist authorities use active measures to further and foster their policy objectives, primarily foreign policy objectives. With regard to Poland, the primary goal of disinformation and disruption was to help shape U.S. public opinion and to prevent or diminish opposing views, such as ours.

In order for that to be successful, they do require the passive participation at least of our national media, and they have gotten it. I would not want to bring up here as examples of disinformation any articles published by our press because that would be unfair.

However, these things do happen. Many times I see pieces coming from Western journalists in Poland and being published by our national newspapers that foster the image that the Polish Government wishes to have fostered—specifically articles that say things that are true, but with a very special twist added. There is always a little light criticism of the Polish Government. But the bottom line is that Solidarity is painted as unreasonable, excessive, and unrealistic.

There are also appeals made that Jaruzelski is really a hero, between a rock and a hard place, that he has to deal with Moscow and the hard-liners within his own party—very rational, realistic pieces.

Again, there are hints that the Polish Government and members of the Communist Party in Poland would really like to liberalize, if only "Big Brother" would let them.

These attitudes have won fairly wide acceptance in this country, and, unfortunately, especially among members of the State Department.

The last country condition report from the State Department, in referring to refugees from the Solidarity movement, which, no matter what anybody thinks about it, has to be the most significant social movement coming out of a Communist country since 1917, referred to them essentially as "economic migrants."

Another area where U.S. media and U.S. public officials are used is this. We sometimes have mysterious visitors from Poland, people who have dissident credentials but who, on a specific point that the Polish Government wishes to foster at that specific point in time, agree with the views of the government.

We had two prominent individuals come to the United States last year, both with good dissident credentials. They came and they both said the same thing: Solidarity is dead; Solidarity does not exist; it is run by opportunists, and you have to remember Poland's geopolitical situation.

Obviously the fact that they were given passports is not an accident. The fact that they were given access and given credence by so many of our public leaders is a mistake.

In order for these types of efforts by the Communist authorities to be successful, our groups and groups similar to us have to be disrupted. I have given you some evidence of that.

There is much more evidence that is intangible. Here is an item that I was given a few days ago. We are preparing for a demonstration against General Jaruzelski who is coming to the United States—a mass demonstration, really, a national demonstration on the 26th of this month.

Last week, in New York, this leaflet began appearing, talking about the demonstration and the need to demonstrate. Problem: Wrong date, wrong time, wrong place.

Senator PRESSLER. Who put that out?

Mr. KONTEK. This is a legitimate group. I suspect they were provided this information by someone as legitimate. It is called the Solidarity Coalition Council. It is a legitimate group.

Senator PRESSLER. How do you know that it is not just the result of incompetence or error?

Mr. KONTEK. It could be. But there is so much of it going on that one at one point in time one has to say that some of this is not incompetence and error.

Now, disinformation campaigns, primarily the articles appearing in the Polish press, also serve a very specific purpose. The Polish Government also wishes to impress a specific opinion upon its own people. The primary message to the Polish population is that the West does not care. Every piece of information that would indicate that a Polish official or a Polish Government idea is accepted on the international forum is blasted in the Polish media as proof that, you know, you really have been sold out again, so why don't you just give it up. This is all a game, the West has gotten tired of it, you have been pawns, and you are just going to get into trouble, so give up.

Another message that has won wide acceptance there, a lot of times with our complicity, is that the West really does not care because all countries really behave in the same manner. Every country has to worry about order, every country has to worry about stability.

Every time there is a demonstration in the United States where the police brandish billy clubs, the pictures are flashed to Poland. They are saying, how can you expect the West to care about what is happening to you when they are doing the same thing, and it is normal that governments need to do these same things.

These messages have been accepted by a very large proportion of the Polish population. The demoralization that has resulted has shown itself in increasing alcoholism, decreasing productivity, and a general apathy in the country right now.

This is just to let you know that there is a goal there, too. They do need to try to influence the public opinion of their own population, and we do have a hand in that.

I do have very specific points of where we believe remedial action can be taken. They are in the statement, and I can specify them for you if you would like.

Senator PRESSLER. Let me say that we are expecting another roll-call vote at about a quarter to one. So if both of you could finish by that time—that gives us about 20 minutes—I would appreciate it. I do have some questions, so perhaps you could summarize. That would be helpful.

Mr. KONTEK. OK.

I think, at this point, I will turn it over to Professor Krynski, who can summarize the specific slander campaigns and intimidation campaigns directed against the Pomost organization.

[Mr. Kontek's prepared statement follows:]

Friends of SOLIDARITY Inc.

BOX 2244, HOYA STATION, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20057

Semptember 13, 1985

STATEMENT BY

THADDEUS L. KONTEK, Director

FRIENDS OF SOLIDARITY, Inc.

before the

EUROPEAN SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

on the subject of

SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, at the onset I would like to thank you for allowing me to share with the Committee the experiences of our and similar organizations with Soviet and Soviet proxy active measures.

Our group, the Friends of Solidarity, is an independent, non-profit charitable organization. We are a volunteer group formed in late 1981 with the goals of increasing American public awareness of the importance and implications of the Solidarity trade union movement in Poland, of organizing moral and material support (food, medicines, etc.) for the needy people of Poland during martial law, of organizing assistance to members of Solidarity who are abroad, and or organizing assistance for Polish refugees who intend to settle in the United States.

Over the past four years, we have sent tons of food and medical supplies to Poland, organized rallys and demonstrations calling for an end to martial law and respect for human rights in Poland, organized seminars and panel discussions with noted experts on the economic and political situation in Poland, and fought for better treatment of Polish refugees here in the U.S. We have also organized cultural events such as the showing of the Art of Solidarity and Through Polish Eyes photo exhibit in the Russell Senate Office Building in October of 1983.

In cooperation with other similar groups around the country, we helped establish a coalition called the Conference of Solidarity Support Organizations. Most major Solidarity support organizations cooperate with the Conference and it now includes Solidarity support groups in the U.S.A., Canada, and Western Europe.

Based on our activities, relatively small size and lack of extensive funding or any professional staff, it would appear that our groups would be unlikely targets for the secret services of the Soviet Union and her proxy states. Yet that was and is not the case. As I will outline in more detail, organizations such as ours, mainstream Polish-American organizations such as the Polish-American Congress, as well as radical groups such as POMOST, were and are targets of libel, harassment, intimidation, and manipulation by security forces of the Polish and Soviet communist governments.

Examples of Active Measures

Much of this activity cannot be documented although we have been able to pick up traces here and there. Forgeries of documents, though compromising only a small portion of the active measures taken against our groups, are available

for your review. Articles appearing in the Soviet and Polish press will also be presented to you. A partial transcript of a Radio Moscow broadcast beamed into Poland in January of 1983 will also serve as evidence.

To begin, I would like to direct your attention to Exhibit 1. On January 15, 1983, Radio Moscow aired a program into Poland which was intercepted by the Solidarity Information Office in Brussels. The Brussels Office, unlike our Solidarity support groups, works directly for the underground leadership of Solidarity (known as the Temporary Coordinating Commission or TKK) and is the only official representation of Solidarity outside of Poland. As such, the Office is the object of continious harassment, disinformation and disruption campaigns by the Polish government.

In this broadcast however, the Friends of Solidarity were mentioned and slandered in numerous ways. It states we are part of the Center for Strategic and International Studies at the Georgetown University. While we would certainly by honored by such an affiliation, our organization's links to Georgetown University were only through the Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance which provided us with a mailing address and office space some time ago. The program states that our organization is headed by Mr. Ludwiniak, when in fact he had resigned from the presidency almost a year before the broadcast. According to the broadcast, we have direct contacts with Dr.'s Kissinger, Schlesinger and Brzezinski. An association with these emminent personalities would most certainly enhance our organization, but unfortunately these contacts do not exist for the most part.

Finally, according to the broadcast we, in cooperation with the Brussels Office and other Solidarity support groups, and under direction of the CIA are supposedly setting up

secret paramilitary centers to train dissidents from Poland. They are supposedly being trained in terrorist activities such as public massacres with grenades and to hang and murder pregnant women who are loyal to the communist regime in Poland. This is of course sheer slander. No such groups exist or have even been planned to my knowledge. And I would add that if any such group were formed to deal with communists in Poland, it is unlikely that it would focus on pregnant women.

This broadcast was later modified and toned down significantly for publication in the Soviet Weekly New Times. Exhibit 2 is a copy an article published by this organ in March of 1983. Charges similar to the radio broadcast were made against the Friends of Solidarity and other groups, but references to specific terrorist acts have been eliminated. Evidently even the Soviets were embarassed by the excesses of the Radio Moscow broadcast.

Exhibit 3 is a copy of a letter sent on our stationary to a group in New York. This crude forgery, under cover of the goal of helping Solidarity and enhancing cooperation, insults the New York Committee and includes a threat of exposing members of the group as communist agents. The New York Committee is sensitive to these types of forgeries and took no note, except to bring it to our attention. The forged signature, two years obsolete, is again that of our former president.

The secret services of the Polish government, while attempting to project the image of omnipresence, are not always very accurate in their information. The type of data that the Polish secret service attempts to obtain about our organizations is typified by the questionaire included as Exhibit 4. This questionaire was handed to me in Canada by a person who claimed to be collecting data for use by Solidarity

officials in Paris. I indicated that the questions were highly irregular, and that I would check with Paris directly. Needless to say, no one in Paris had asked for, authorized or was even aware of the questionaire. I think that the Members of the Committee will be very interested in the specific types of data that is requested, especially since some of it has to do with information about U.S. politicians who are sympathetic to Solidarity.

Creative letter writing is not limited to efforts at disrupting cooperation within our groups. Some time ago, a letter was sent to your former colleague, Senator Percy, on Brussels Office stationary. A similar letter was sent to the President. The letter raised concerns about the fate of Polish refugees in the U.S. The concern was legitimate, however the tone was such that it could but only leave a very negative impression of Solidarity and its members. The Solidarity Brussels Office does not get involved in refugee matters at all. And the letters were meant to butress Polish government contentions that Solidarity is unreasonable, arrogant, and unrealistic.

Major disinformation and disruption campaigns have also been launched against a political group called POMOST. While I will leave the bulk of the comments about these campaigns to Professor Krynksi, who has been kind enough to join me here today, I wish to bring two documents to your attention. Following my statement, he will review the specific POMOST documents.

Example 1 is a copy of a statement of purpose forged on POMOST stationary. It was widely disseminated in the Polish community of Chicago, headquarters of the Polish-American Congress (PAC), an umbrella organization encompassing most Polish-American ethnic groups around the country. The statement is a direct assault on the PAC, listing the need

for a second organization since the PAC is claimed to be inactive. It also attempts to exacerbate generational differences by referring to the "old Polonia". It was met with general acceptance in the Chicago community despite POMOST efforts to disown it. The forgery served its purpose well. Relations between the two organizations have continued to worsen, resulting in much effort being expended by both groups in discussing their differences.

But the measures do not stop at forged letters, libelous articles, and disruption of activities. Last year, the President of our organization, Dr. Christopher Michejda, was contacted by officials of the FBI who expressed concern that certain Polish refugees were receiving phone calls from Polish individuals in the U.S. on various exchange programs. These individuals reminded the refugees that they have family back in Poland. Attempts at this type of indimidation directed to recent refugees from Poland are well known. The Polish authorities wish to exert their control over former nationals even on U.S. soil.

In other actions, members of ours and other groups have experienced harassment in Polish diplomatic missions. While attempting to obtain Polish visas to visit relatives, Polish consuls have been known to look through a list and declare that the person cannot get a visa since they belong the a subversive organization. Whether the lists are real or not is not known. However, the persons are told that if they would stop their "anti-Polish" activities and quit these organizations, it would help in getting a visa. In each case, the persons involved were not activists but merely members whose major crime was taking part in demonstrating against martial law. Thus the Polish government is attempting to dictate to U.S. citizens which groups they should belong to.

Goals of Active Measures
-In the U.S.

Communist authorities use disinformation, disruption and other types of active measure campaigns to further foreign policy objectives. As such, the primary goal of disinformtion is to shape U.S. public opinion, and to prevent or diminish differing views. That this should be successful requires the passive participation of our national media. Western journalists in Poland and other communist countries are sometimes used to project specific images to the U.S. public. Images that border on the truth but have a special goal in mind. Light criticism of the government is included to add credibility. Solidarity is painted as unreasonable, excessive, unrealistic. Appeals are made to the geopolitical situation. Hints by the Polish government of desires to liberalize, if only "big brother" or the "hard liners" would allow are always part of the agenda.

Sometimes, persons with dissident credentials are suddenly given visas to speak about issues where their views and those of the government happen to coincide. These persons, once in the U.S. are given access to the highest authorities. They believe what they say, though they obviously don't understand that they are being allowed to say it only because it serves the government's purpose at that given point in time.

Are these efforts successful? Alarmingly so. But more about that in the conclusion.

Conversely, in order for disinformation efforts by the communist authorities to be accepted, sources of differing information must be muffled. As shown, efforts against Solidarity support amd other groups attempt to disrupt their effectivess by initiating or exacerbating conflicts.

Potential participants and sympathizers are warned to stay away. Refugees are indimidated. That despite these efforts, so many groups continue to exist and function gives testimony to the dept of conviction by their participants.

-In Poland

The disinformation campaigns conducted in Poland also have specific purposes. While the denounciation of various Western groups serves only to warn Polish nationals to stay away from them, much more sophisticated techniques are used to convey specific messages to the Polish population.

Primary among these is that the West does not care. Every piece of information that would indicate the acceptance of Polish officials or Polish government ideas in the West is used as evidence of this. The message is - You are pawns, when the West gets tired of this game, because thats all it is, things will get back to normal and then we will really clean house. Better you should forget about all this nonsense about democracy and resign yourself to your fate.

Another message is - How can you expect the world to care about what we do to you? All the countries in the world do the same thing. Ideology really doesn't matter. All countries must maintain order and stability in any way they can.

These ideas have to a large degree been accepted by portions of the Polish population. The resulting demoralization has let itself be shown in increasing alcoholism, decreasing productivity, and general apathy.

Yet despite these measures, and even acceptance of the government's overall message, a vibrant opposition movement continues to exist and flourish.

Remedial Action

There is much that the United States can do to diminish Soviet and Soviet proxy active measures. While the list is certainly not comprehensive, overall government actions should be taken to prevent, respond to and be aware of the types of activity that I have spoken about.

It is clear that the United States cannot do very much to prevent slander and libel in the media of a communist home country. However, much can be done to reduce the number of people who provide the material and data here in the United States. Action should be taken in two specific areas.

The sheer number of potential spies and provacateurs within the diplomatic, consular, business, and media corps of Soviet, Polish and other communist country officials here in the United States can be reduced. Strict parity with comparable U.S. representation within that country should be the rule. With a fewer number of people, the number involved in active measures against U.S. groups would certainly have to fall. This action would also allow the FBI to keep better track of the ones remaining. Coupled with increased resources and greater cooperation with ethnic communities, the FBI would be in a better position to respond to specific provocations.

Another area where much can be done to prevent active measures involves exchange visitors, some of whom are engaged in disinformation and intimidation. Section 212(A)(28)(C) of the Immigration and Naturalization Act states that visas cannot be given to members of a communist party unless the applicant can show that such membership is involuntary. Yet this law is completely flouted by our consular authorities. Please be aware that no-one is forced to be a member of

the communist party in Poland. Membership is totally voluntary. If someone wishes to collaborate with the communist government and joins for purely opportunistic reasons, they should not be rewarded by the United States government for their prostitution. The policy of allowing communists to come to the U.S., sometimes at our government's cost also does much to demoralize the population within Poland. How can we in our radio broadcasts tell the people that we support them and at the same time provide the most sought after benefits of a foreign trip to those who sell out? What kind of message are we sending?

Our government should also respond to specific acts of slander and libel concerning U.S. actions or groups in a manner similar to the way the communist countries do. At every outrageous outburst by Radio Moscow, the Soviet Ambassador should be dressed down. At every outrageous article by a Pravda, Tass, or PAP correspondent, the offending journalist should be bounced out of the country. That is what they do to our independent journalists. Would it be so unwise to do the same for their official government journalists?

Responses to communist slander and libel should also be made through our government radio services. The Voice of America is much too timid in this regard. It is our government's right to defend itself against slander in the international forum. Information activities directed through the National Endowment for Democracy should also be stepped up. Monies from this institution should not be wasted on groups whose main activity is in the West. Use the money to feed ideas where they can do some good.

Finally in the area of awareness the responsibility for action must lay elsewhere. There is not much our government can do to make people aware of disinformation campaigns

directed at the U.S. public. The responsibility must lie with those who provide information to our people. Members of the media must ensure that they are not used to further government aims. Editors should ensure that there is balance in reporting from countries that deny access by Western journalists to sources of objective information. Our civic leaders should also be aware of the world around them and understand that they can and sometimes are used. Our political leaders should ensure that they have the best available information from which to make decisions. Currently, that is not always the case.

Conclusion

With specific regard to Poland, the case can be made that part of the reason for acceptance of Polish disinformation both here and in Poland is due to the lack of any clear strategic U.S. policy toward that region. Not even the policy of differenciation seems to apply. Poland has neither a liberal internal policy nor an independent foreign policy. Yet all too many leaders within our foreign policy community have accepted the principle that Jaruzelski is really a hero. Our policy for that part of the world in the last few years has seemed to center around the desire to place a U.S. ambassodor there.

This void of ideas for the region leaves fertile ground for the acceptance of preposterous views fostered by the Polish government. Our foreign policy cannot be shaped by career bureaucrats but by political leaders. At this point, there do not appear to by any within current foreign policy makers who either understand or care about Poland. And so we flounder with our carrots and sticks while the communist government there consolidates its grip on the population in a manner that reeks of Stalinism.

General Jaruzelski is coming to New York to address the United Nations later in this month. I can safely predict that within the coming weeks we will be served with much positive information about the General. Maybe Barbara Walters will do another piece about the "human" side of this man. In the meantime, the General will continue his assualt on the Church, he needs it no longer - his grip is strong enough now. As for the people, those who resist will be locked up, refused work, forced to emigrate, beaten, tortured, and killed.

To show the population the world-wide acceptance of the current Polish government, every meeting with every official in New York, regardless of significance, will be given massive media coverage in Poland.

In conclusion, I would like to add that more and more people in Poland are being convicted and sentenced to jail for "having contacts with hostile organizations". The government can prove its case simply by citing material from its own press. This note is for those who feel that disinformation really doesn't hurt anyone.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Members for your attention.

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EXHIBITS IN SUPPORT OF STATEMENT BY

THADDEUS L. KONTEK, DIRECTOR

FRIENDS OF SOLIDARITY, INC.

on September 13, 1985 before the

EUROPEAN SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

on the subject of SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES

EXHIBIT 1 — Partial transcript of Radio Moscow broadcast about Friends of Solidarity and other groups.

EXHIBIT 2 — Soviet Weekly "NEW TIMES" article about Friends of Solidarity and other groups based on Radio Moscow broadcast.

EXHIBIT 3 — Forged letter on Friends of Solidarity letterhead (translation included).

EXHIBIT 4 — Questionaire about organizations such as Friends of Solidarity (translation included).

(EXHIBIT 1)

The following is a partial transcript of an audition aired by Radio Moscow on January 15, 1983 from 5 P.M. (Central Europe Time) at the 6.053 Mghz bandwidth and taped by the Coordinating Office Abroad of Solidarnosc in Brussels, Belgium.

"(...) Recently in the United States, the union is crystalizing between reactionary anti-Polish emigre organizations and American anti-communist outposts. One can notice the intertwining and in fact in many cases the unification of their activities. For instance in the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University an organization called the Friends of Solidarity was formed with the Polish immigrant Ludwiniak at the helm. Taking advantage of the help of various American protectors, Ludwiniak established direct contacts with activists such as Kissinger, Schlesinger, and of course the well known Brzezinski. It was at the initiative of the latter that the White House, yet in 1978, affirmed the confidential instructions concerning the coordination of subversive actions by the NATO block countries against Poland. As a consultant to Ludwiniak's group appears the CIA employee Cherny (?) who is a specialist at recruiting dissidents and renegades from socialist countries. The Central Intelligence Agency would not be what it is if in its subversive work against Poland it did not attempt to utilize dissidents from the immigration for the organization of its terrorist activities. As reported in the Chicago Tribune, on the territory of the United States there were already formed a number of secret paramilitary centers where with the approval of the authorities, some sort of "foreign legion" is formed, trained and equipped. Its leaders are being prepared for a battle with the "reds" and planning the infiltration of armed bandits to, also among others, the territory of Poland. There is also information the the Committee in Support of Solidarity is preparing for the formation of special camps for the schooling of Solidarity activists in the United States, West Germany and Great Britain. (inaudible) and will be the subject of studies organized by special services of the West for the apprentices recruited by them. What will these latter be pushed to? What are they to do? I will illustrate for instance this fact probably known to many of our listeners. Recently the Polish organs of mass media informed of the discovery in Katowice of an illegal terrorist group under the name of the Regional Executive Committee. In addition to detailed plans for subversive activity, instructions on "how to destroy enemies" were also found, which contained explanations on how to conduct public massacres with the aid of grenades, how to hang and murder pregnant women who are loyal to the regime. And so on. The American Central Intelligence Agency intends to school in its special bases these types of butchers.

And for the conclusion, let us return once again to the Coordinating Office Abroad of Solidarnosc. During these days the French radio, in its broadcasts intended for listeners abroad, aired the contents of the most recent communique issued by named office. In this document, the coordinators of subversive action of an anti-Polish leaning present the essence of their program. This essence, as declared by the authors of this program, is based on "that we do not intend to act on behalf of a historical compromise with communism, but we will step by step, in parts, displace the ground beneath

the feet of the reds. Irrespective of whether the authorities lift the state of war or if they don't, we will continue to be faithful to this program."

There is no need to comment further. You are listening to, ladies and gentlemen, commentaries from the series, "From a sharp angle".

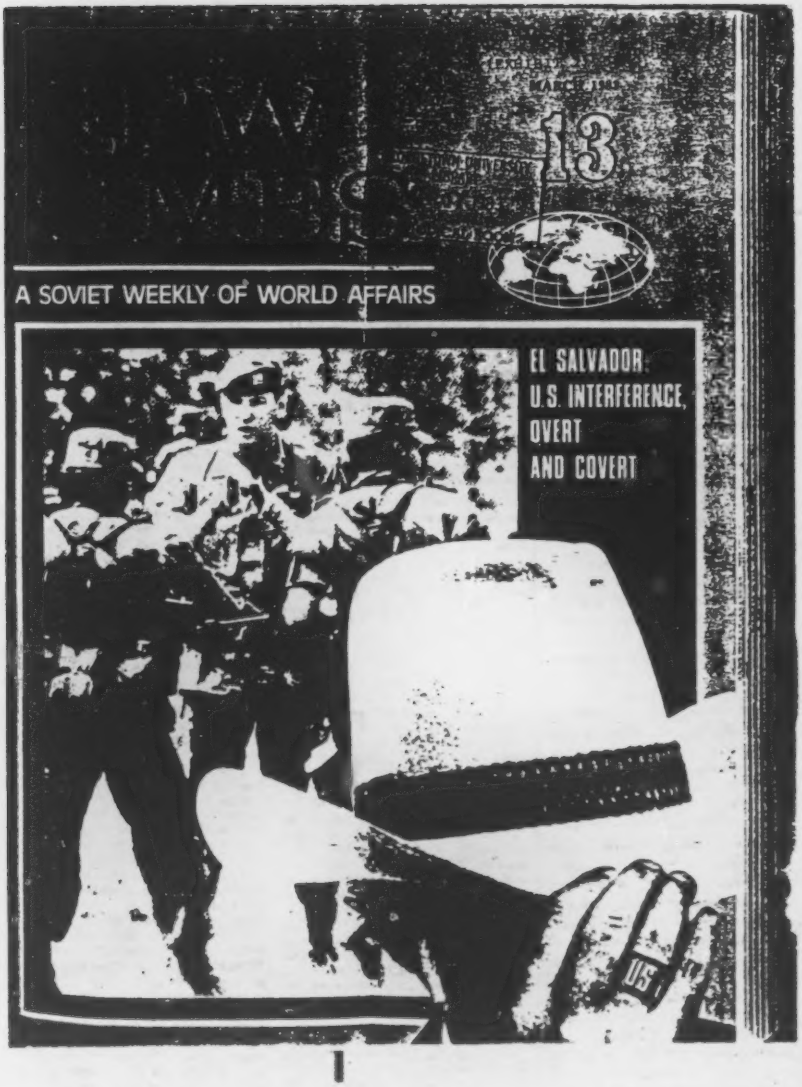
(Jingle)

(Announcer) This is Moscow. (...)

Additional Notes

Radio Moscow, the Soviet equivalent of Radio Free Europe, broadcasts daily into Poland over many regular radio wavelengths. During Radio Moscow broadcasts, Polish radio stations, which regularly occupy those bandwidths, go off the air.

The Friends of Solidarity Organization, operating out of Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. is a charitable, non-profit organization associated with the Georgetown Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance, not the Center for Strategic and International Studies as quoted in the broadcast. In addition to this text, there have been numerous articles in the Polish communist press alluding to terrorist and subversive Polish emigre organizations operating in the Washington, D.C. area. Usually these articles appear a few days following a Friends of Solidarity event, (demonstration, panel discussion, etc.) and clearly allude to the Friends of Solidarity organization.


13
A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS
EL SALVADOR:
U.S. INTERFERENCE,
OVERT
AND COVERT

ulation of U.S. private investment in the Caribbean zone. Let us see what this actually means. Under the Reagan plan, financial aid to the countries of that region is estimated at $350 million, including more than $40 million to the Dominican Republic. One is struck first of all by the meagreness of the total sum; it amounts to slightly over two per cent of the external debt of the Caribbean countries. According to official statistics, this debt amounted to $12,000 million in 1979, but actually it is considerably higher. It is significant that more than a third of the sum goes to back the reactionary Salvadoran regime. The rest of the aid is intended primarily for financing the private sector.

As was to be expected, Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada have been excluded from the Reagan plan. U.S. aid is automatically denied what they term "communist" countries, as well as governments which expropriate U.S. businesses or introduce restrictions on the export of U.S. goods.

As for the widely advertised free trade, it is conceived in Washington as an instrument for expanding U.S. exports to the Caribbean countries and control by U.S. corporations over the foreign trade of these countries. The "Caribbean initiative" would make it easier to establish U.S.-subsidized enterprises that could take advantage of local conditions enabling them to cut production costs and make bigger profits. Another aim of the Reagan plan is to ensure the unrestricted export of profits.

It is thus clear that the three main components of President Reagan's "Caribbean initiative" accord only with the aims of the U.S. ruling circles: to stem the tide of the revolutionary movement in the Caribbean and to make further efforts to subordinate our countries to Washington and increase the penetration of transnational companies into their economies. Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada show that there is another way, while the example of El Salvador leaves no doubt that the people of any country can take this road. ■

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A FUTILE WASHINGTON BID

(EXHIBIT 2)

Reading pronouncements by White House spokesmen about Poland one might think that it is not a sovereign country that is in question, but just another American state. Dismayed by the gradual return to normalcy in Poland's economy and, in particular, the clamp down on the subversive activities of the anti-socialist forces in that country, Washington has stepped up its anti-Polish campaign. The fact remains, however, that the U.S. economic sanctions, covert CIA operations and the ideological subversion conducted by Western anti-socialist centres alike have failed to produce the expected results. Yet Washington, judging by everything, has drawn no lessons from this. In a paroxysm of chauvinistic hysteria it is persisting in its futile attempts to interfere in Poland's internal affairs.

Deprived of opportunities to carry on open subversion in Poland on the previous scale, the U.S., flouting the most elementary norms of international law, is now pinning its hopes on external subversive forces and, in particular, on the Polish reactionary nationalist émigrés. This was evidenced, for instance, by the AFL-CIO-sponsored meeting of U.S. Vice-President George Bush, AFL-CIO leader Lane Kirkland and International Confederation of Free Trade Unions General Secretary John Vanderveken with emissaries of Polish émigré circles last December. The conference decided nothing more nor less than to reanimate the self-styled "Solidarity." The meeting went on record that the ICFTU bureaus in the Western countries should contribute to the revival of "Solidarity" and prevail on their respective governments to exert heavier pressure on the Polish authorities by making economic and financial co-operation with Poland directly dependent on the restoration of the organization in its previous form. It is proposed to expand "Solidarity's" foreign bureaus in European countries and the aid to "Solidarity" committees in New York, and to help set up underground "Solidarity" groups in Poland.

Any sober-minded observer will wonder why the AFL-CIO leadership has suddenly evinced such touching concern for Poland's workers. Why did they donate to the self-styled Polish trade union federation $300,000 in 1981 and then $3 million more for the establishment of the "Solidarity" Foreign Information Bureau? Doubts have been voiced that this money came from the U.S. unions: the AFL-CIO would hardly have so lightly parted with it for so dubious a purpose. The money was laid out in conformity with a programme for secret interference in Poland's internal affairs sanctioned by the White House. The professed solidarity with "Solidarity" was plainly sheer camouflage. The U.S. Administration, of course, disclaims any involvement, maintaining that it was all done by "free" trade unions, which allegedly even exert pressure on the authorities to adopt a tougher stand towards the Polish People's Republic.

When the undercover operations of U.S. intelligence in Poland were exposed and CIA agents Zerolis and Howard had to pack up and leave the country, the Reagan Administration again disavowed any share in their machinations. The facts make it plain, however, that the White House, the CIA and the U.S. trade union bosses are operating according to an agreed scenario. Evidence of this was the presence of Vice-President Bush at the AFL-CIO-sponsored conference in December last year.

The Polish political émigrés have been assigned the task of presenting to the Western governments and public opinion a distorted picture of the policy of the Polish United Workers' Party and the activity of the Polish government, and of serving as "building material" for new subversion centres to be set up in the West. It is from among them that the West recruits members for the countless "committees," "groups," and "organizations" that have been established. One of these is the Georgetown University Centre for Strategic and International Studies. As far back as November 1981 it initiated the organization of the Friends of "Solidarity" headed by the émigré Ludwiniak. The "friends" promptly entered into close contact with the Polish workers' detachment, the aid to "Solidarity" committee and the Fund for Poland organization. The co-ordinator of their activities is the founder of the so-called International Rescue Committee and old friend of CIA director William Casey, the notorious Leo Cherne.

NEW TIMES 13-83

(EXHIBIT 2)

At present the aid to "Solidarity" committee set up in late 1981 is working hard to reanimate the *survivals* of the underground groups of "Solidarity" in Poland. Operating under the auspices of the AFL-CIO, it maintains contact with members of the U.S. Congress and Administration, as well as with "institutes" for the study of Polish problems. According to press reports, the committee is now getting ready to set up near the Polish frontier "Solidarity" radio transmitters. In Britain, France, West Germany and the United States, summer camps are being organised where future "Solidarity" activists from among Polish émigrés will undergo training. The AFL-CIO and the Committee for the Free World have undertaken to finance the projects. The practical preparations are being handled by Irving Brown, the AFL-CIO representative in Western Europe, but better known as a CIA agent with years of experience in intelligence in the international trade union movement. A new centre modestly named the Students Information and Study Association has cropped up in Stuttgart, West Germany/Its main purpose is ideological indoctrination of emigrants from socialist countries, mostly Poles.

Nor has the so-called International Human Rights Association remained in the sidelines. Although its leaders insist that they have nothing to do with the counterrevolutionary elements in Poland, it is a well-known fact that a Polish Working Section has been set up within the framework of this sanctuary for anti-socialist forces. "The Association of course is doing something about Poland," a member of its leadership once admitted, "but strictly confidentially."

The list of anti-Polish organizations and of the countries in which they operate could be continued. It should be noted that West European countries signatory to the Helsinki Final Act, reneging on their commitment to respect the principles of the sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, are making their territories and facilities available for subversive actions against Poland. For instance, balloons have been released from the Danish island of Bornholm to be carried by air currents into Polish air space in order to scatter hostile propaganda materials there. A Belgian national named Roger Robert Noël who arrived in Warsaw with a consignment of medicaments and medical equipment was found to have brought a portable radio transmitter intended for "Solidarity" camouflaged as blood-test equipment. From West German territory anti-Polish propaganda is broadcast by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The anti-socialist journal Kultura published in Paris regularly carries instructions to anti-socialist elements in Poland.

The authorities in Western countries take a benevolent view of extremist sallies against Polish diplomatic missions and other institutions abroad and Polish citizens. Even individuals involved in the hijacking of Polish aircraft and other terrorist acts are not prosecuted.

As regards anti-Polish terror, it recently became known that the CIA has begun setting up sabotage and terrorist émigré formations to carry out acts of violence both inside and outside Poland. Typical of such organizations are the Free Poland, Liberty and Pomost groups in Europe and the 13th December Brigade in the U.S.

We have already mentioned the provocative role played by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Poland's enemies ensconced in the Polish section of Radio Free Europe are seeking to play on the nationalist sentiment of the Poles and incite them to actions against the lawful authorities. Prominent among the suppliers of tendentious information are many people associated with "Solidarity." For instance, as far back as August 1981, one W. Kecik agreed a regular programme of joint action with the leadership and some staff members of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe at a conference in Munich. The minutes of the meeting underscore the need to exchange information between "Solidarity" and Radio Free Europe, to heighten the role of the latter as disseminator of "enlightenment," and to step up propaganda against the Polish Army. The record of the meeting also contains a request to the U.S. Administration to provide the radio station with more powerful transmitters.

Prior to that KSS-KOR emissaries visited both Radio Free Europe and the BBC. The key positions in the anti-Polish propaganda machine of Radio Free Europe are held by news director Edwards and his deputy Griffith, both of whom are known to be CIA agents of long standing.

Washington has also come up against some unforeseen snags in its anti-Polish crusade owing to discord in the émigré camp. For instance, the former KSS-KOR leaders now in exile have split into two rival groups. The Polish émigré centres in London too stand aloof from one another, each obviously having its own irons in the fire.

In an effort to unite the anti-Polish elements, Washington joined at the end of last year in the formation of a so-called Committee of Representatives of Free Organizations of East European Countries based in Paris. A symposium attended by Polish and Czechoslovak émigrés living in West Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Britain and France was held in West Germany to discuss a programme of joint action against Czechoslovakia and Poland. Ukrainian and Polish émigrés are planning to hold this spring a "world conference" of renegades. It is noteworthy that it is sponsored by an outfit calling itself the Co-ordinating Council of Free World Polonia. Its chairman is Ivan Kashuba, head of the security service of the Ukrainian nationalists and known to collaborate with the FBI and CIA. It would seem, however, that complete concord is difficult to achieve. For one thing a number of Polish émigrés declined to come to the symposium. It was also boycotted by the representatives of Slovak nationalist groups, and those Polish émigrés who do not consider it possible to co-operate with the Ukrainian nationalists are against taking part in the projected conference.

Thus Washington is making one attempt after another to play the "Polish card" to further its own ends. It stops at nothing in its efforts to divert People's Poland away from socialism. But these are futile efforts. The U.S. and its partners in the anti-Poland campaign should know by now from their own experience that it is senseless to pin their hopes on interference in Poland's internal affairs. Poland was and remains socialist.

T. VASILYEV

(EXHIBIT 3)

Friends of SOLIDARITY Inc.

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25.01.84

Stowarzyszenie Przyjaciol "Solidarnosci" od kilkunastu miesiecy jest aktywnie zaangazowane w organizowanie roznorodnej pomocy humanitarnej dla rodakow w kraju. Wielokrotnie wystepowalismy do innych organizacji i komitetow popierajacych "Solidarnosc" z apelem o polaczenie wysilkow i wspolne koordynowanie akcji niesienia pomocy.
Tylko silna i prezna organizacja jest w stanie w odpowiedni sposob reprezentowac interesy "Solidarnosci" na terenie USA. Powielanie, wzajemne dublowanie licznych imprez organizowanych z okazji roznych rocznic powoduje pomniejszenie ich prestizu oraz dezorientacje wsrod osob pragnacych wspomoc naszych kolegow w kraju, a w konsekwencji spadek zainteresowania spoleczenstwa amerykanskiego losami czlonkow "Solidarnosci". Nasze inicjatywy spotykaly sie ze zrozumieniem i byly przychylnie przyjmowane przez wiele nam podobnych organizacji. Jedynie Kierownictwo Komitetu Pomocy "Solidarnosci" od poczatku konsekwentnie odmawialo wspolpracy i torpedowalo nasze zamierzenia. Z troska i niepokojem obserwujemy dzialalnosc osob kierujacych Komitetem Pomocy "Solidarnosci", ktorzy rywalizujac miedzy soba coraz bardziej oddalaja sie od celow, ktore legly u podstaw powstania Komitetu. Nasz niepokoj podzielil rownier czlonek Kierownictwa Komitetu Koordynacyjnego w Brukseli - Slawomir Czarlewski, ktory krytycznie wypowiedzial sie o dzialalnosci KPS.

Biorac pod uwage nadrzedne dobro zdelegalizowanego przez rezim w kraju Zwiazku, zwracamy sie raz jeszcze do osob kierujacych Komitetem Pomocy "Solidarnosci" o skoncentrowanie sie na statutowej dzialalnosci oraz na podjeciu wspoldzialania z innymi organizacjami pro-solidarnosciowymi, poniewaz wszyscy dazymy do jednego celu, jakim jest przywrocenie sytuacji w kraju sprzed 13 grudnia 1981 r.

W przypadku kolejnej odmowy wspoldzialania, bedziemy zmuszeni podjac odpowiednie kroki - w porozumieniu z przedstawicielem Komitetu Brukselskiego - ktore ukaza prawdziwe intencje oraz powiazania niektorych osob z kierownictwa Komitetu Pomocy "Solidarnosci" z przedstawicielami krajowego rezimu.

Z powazaniem

Kris S. Ludwiniak

Kris S. Ludwiniak
Przewodniczacy

(EXHIBIT 3)

(TRANSLATION OF FORGERY ON OTHER SIDE)

1/25/84

The association Friends of "Solidarity" is for many months actively involved in the organization of different kinds of humanitarian help for our countrymen in Poland. We have many times approached other organizations and committees supporting "Solidarity" with an appeal to join efforts and mutually coordinate the actions of providing help.

Only a strong and vibrant organization is in a position to represent the interests of "Solidarity" in the USA in the proper manner. Copying, mutual doubling of numerous events organized on the occassion of various anniversaries causes the lessening of their prestige as well as disorientation among persons wanting to help our friends in Poland, and results in diminishment of interest by American society of the fate of members of "Solidarity". Our initiatives have been met with understanding and were favorably received by many organizations such as ours. Only the directorship of the Committee in Support of Solidarity has since the beginning consistently refused cooperation and has torpedoed our intentions. With concern and uneasiness we observe the activities of persons directing the Committee in Support of Solidarity, who while competing among themselves distance themselves more and more from the goals which gave foundations to the Committee. Our uneasiness is also shared by a member of the Directorate of the Coordinating Committee in Brussels - Slawomir Czarlewski, why spoke critically of the activities of the CSS.

Taking into consideration the supreme good of the Union in Poland, delegalized by the regime, we ask once again that the persons directing the Committee in Support of Solidarity concentrate on ther statutory activity and begin cooperating with other pro-Solidarity organizations, since we all are striving for the same goal, which is the return of the situation in Poland that existed before December 13, 1981.

In the case of another refusal of cooperation, we will be forced to take appropriate steps - in consultation with the Brussels Committee - which will show the true intentions as well as binds of some persons in the Directorate of the Committe in Support of Solidarity with representatives of the regime in Poland.

With respect

(forged signature)

Kris S. Ludwiniak
Chairman

(EXHIBIT 4)

1. Nazwy, adresy, telefony, godz dyzurow, nazwiska osob , krotka charakterystyka działalnosci wszystkich instytucji i grup "Solidarnosci", polonijnych oraz sympatyzujacych lub zainteresowanych Polska w USA i Kanadzie(ew. w innych krajach obu Ameryk o ile macie takie dane).

2. Krotka charakterystyka wspolpracy, wzgl. jej braku lub antagonizmow w/w organizacji.

3. Stosunek organizacji "S" w Ameryce do przedstawicielstwa TKK w Brukseli-Paryzu. Jakiego typu działalnosc jest uzgadniana z Brukselą wzgl. leży wyl w jej kompetencjach, a jaka działalnosc k organizacje lokalne prowadza na własna rake?

4. Czy "S" prowadzi w USA regularna akcje informacyjna dla odbiorcy amerykanskiego (ew. szeroko czasopisma i agencje inf., wybitni dziennikarze, politycy, naukowcy itp.). Jesli tak to na czym ona polega (tytuł wydawnictwa, czestosc ukazywania sie, char.tresci, lista osob i instytucji otrzymujacych + stanowiska tych osob). Prosze o kilka ostatnich numerow. Jesli nie to dlaczego? Czy akcje tego typu prowadzi jakas inna org. polska (nie "S"). Jesli tak to mozliwie dokładna charakterystyka.

5. W jaki sposob "S" w USA uzyskuje inf. z Polski? Jesli jedyny systematyczny doplyw jest via Paryz to co dostajecie (Biuletyn czy kopie bibuły krajowej) i jakie jest minimalne opoznienie w stos do daty podanej na pismach krajowych? Jesli macie syst. dostawy wprost z kraju to z ktorych miast? Czy kanał ten działa takze w druga strone (mozliwosc zamawiania materiałow z kraju)oraz wysyłki materiałow do kraju)? Z jaka czestotliwoscia i jak szybko działa ten kanał(y) - o ile go macie? W jaki sposob docierają do was szczególnie ważne i pilne informacje (np. teksty TKK ogłaszające akcje ogólnopolskie, stanowiska Episkopatu i

6. Czy "S" w USA podjęła probe zorganizowania tutaj polskiego lobby, które zajmowałoby sie urabianiem tutejszej opinii publicznej oraz politykow i instytucji (oficjalna wypowiedzi takiego ciała, artykuły jego członkow, kontakty nieformalne itp.) . Jesli tak to mozliwie obszerna charakterystyka działalnosci + personalia członkow. Jesli nie to co stoi na przeszkodzie? ~~[illegible]~~ Czy istnieje jakas taka grupa nie związana z "S"? Jesli tak to mozliwie dokładna charakterystyka.

7. Lista wybitnych osobistosci w USA -Polakow i osob sympatyzujacych (politycy, dziennikarze, naukowcy, pisarze, artyści itp) z którymi macie kontakt (nazwisko, zawod, miasto).

8. Dane nt. aktualnego stanu "solidarnosciowej" emigracji w USA i Kanadzie: ilosc osob w układzie: regiony (w tym: stolica i reszta) oraz pozycje: KZ, ZR, KK, doradcy, pracownicy "S" (nie wybrani lecz na etatach w ZR i innych ciałach). Nazwiska osob ze szczebla ZR i KK. (+ z którego miasta). O ile kłopot z tak(m opracowaniem to pełna lista. Dynamika przyjazdow w układzie miesiecznym (suma przed 13.12.81 i potem miesiącami).

9. Jaka kwote miesiecznie przeznaczacie na pomoc dla kraju (pieniądze, sprzęt, kaziaki itp.) Jaki procent Waszych wpływow stanowi ta kwota? Czy jest to wielkosc mniej wiecej stała, rosnąca czy malejąca? Czy przekazujecie te kwote do Paryża (Brukseli) czy macie własne drogi do kraju? (która regiony?) .

10. Czy prowadziście lub bylibyście w stanie podjac sie prowadzenia ciaglej działalnosci informacyjnej dla "S" w kraju typu: wyciąki prasowe z prasy amerykanskiej nt Polski, nt działalnosci związkow zawodowych w USA, nt. problematyki BHP i ochrony środowiska ew inne tematy zamówione z kraju + relacja nowosci wydawniczych na te tematy (przy założeniu, ze regularny kanał do kraju byłby dla Was zorganizowany)?

11. Wszelkie inne informacje, które uznacie za celowe przekazac do kraju.

12. Wasza ogólna ocena stosunku do "S" i Polski na przestrzeni ostatnich 2 lat: polityków, mass-mediów, społeczeństwa amerykanskiego, Polonii, związkow zawodowych, ew innych grup i organizacji. Jak ta sprawa ewoluuje i w czym sie to wyraza (wmiare mozności jakis szacunek liczbowy).

(EXHIBIT 4)

(TRANSLATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE ON OTHER SIDE)

1. Names, addresses, telephones, hours of duty, names of persons, short summary of activity of all institutions and "Solidarity" groups, Polish ethnic and those sympathetic or interested in Poland in the USA and Canada (and/or in other countries of both America's if you have such information).
2. Short summary of cooperation else the lack of it and antagonisms among the above named organizations.
3. The position of the "S" organization in America to the representatives of the TKK (Temporary Coordinating Commission of Solidarnosc in Poland) in Brussels-Paris. What type of activity is approved through Brussels else which lies exclusively within its bounds of activity, and what type of activity the local organization performs on its own?
4. Does "S" conduct in the USA a regular information campaign directed to an American recipient (eg. professional publications and news agencies, prominent journalists, politicians, academians, etc.). If so, how does it work (title of the publication, frequency of issue, summary of contents, a list of persons and organizations receiving it and the positions of these people). Please send along a few recent issues. If not, why? Is this type of activity performed by some other Polish organization (not "S"). If so please provide as detailed a summary as possible.
5. How does "S" in the USA receive information from Poland? If the only systematic flow is via Paris then what do you receive (the Bulletin or copies of underground periodicals from Poland) and what is the minimum delay in relation to the dates on the underground publications? If you have a direct systematic delivery from Poland then indicate from what cities? Does this channel also work in the other direction (the ability to order materials for Poland) and the sending of materials to Poland)? With what frequency and how quickly does this channel(s) operate - if you have it? In what way do you receive especially important or urgent information (ex. texts of TKK announcing Poland-wide actions, the positions of the Episcopate, etc.)
6. Did "S" in the USA begin an attempt to organize a Polish lobby here, which would take measures to cultivate the public opinion here and/or politicians and institutions (the official declarations of such a body, articles by its members, informal contacts etc.). If so then a as comprehensive as possible summary of its activities and personal data on its members. If not, then what stands in the way? XXXXX Does there exist such a group not connected with "S"? If so then a as compehensive as possible summary.
7. A list of prominent persons in the USA - Poles and persons sympathising (politicians, journalists, academians, writers, artists, etc.) with whom you have contacts (name, occupation, city).
8. Data on the actual state of the "Solidarnosc" emigration in the USA and Canada: how many people in the arrangement: region (in this: the capital and the rest) and positions occupied: KZ, ZR, KK, consultant, "S" workers (not elected but on the staff of ZR or other bodies). The names of the persons from positions in ZR and KK (+ from what city). If its a problem to break out then include the entire list. The dynamics of arrivals on a monthly basis (the number before 12/13/81 and then by month).
9. What amounts do you earmark monthly for help for the country (money, materials, books, etc.) What percent of your income does this amount represent? It this a relatively stable sum, rising or falling? Do you sent these amounts to Paris (Brussels) or do you have your own roads into the country? (which regions?)
10. Do you conduct or would you be in a position to conduct a constant information campaign for "S" in your country such as: newspaper clippings from the American press about Poland, about the activities of trade unions in the USA, about problems of occupational safety and health and environmental safeguards or else subjects requested from Poland - relating new publications on these subjects (on the presumption, that a regular channel into Poland would be organized for you)?
11. Any other information, which you feel is useful to transmit to the country.
12. Your general opinion about the attitude towards "S" and Poland over the last two years: politicians, mass-media, the American public, Polish ethnics, trade unions, and/or other groups or organizations. How is this situation evolving and how is it shown (if possible some estimate of numbers).

STATEMENT OF MAGNUS KRYNSKI, SPOKESMAN FOR POMOST; AND PROFESSOR OF SLAVIC LITERATURE, DUKE UNIVERSITY

Mr. KRYNSKI. I want to congratulate Mr. Kontek for his excellent presentation. He did mention that we are a controversial organization. For the sake of clarity, I would like, Senator Pressler, for you to think of us in terms of the ideology of Jeane Kirkpatrick, the Heritage Foundation, and Ronald Reagan. We are conservative, we are rightwing, we are not extremists, we are not terrorists; we do not throw bombs, we do not approve of those things.

Those are the accusations that are being made against us. We are extremist in the sense that we are extremist for freedom, human rights, and democracy. But that is a good kind of extremism in my opinion.

Pomost evokes such hatred on the part of the Communists because we are rather effective. We are a new type of ethnic political organization We programmatically work with other ethnic and nonethnic groups. We build alliances with Ukrainians, Czechs, Slovaks, conservative Jewish groups. We lobby not only on behalf of Polish causes, but we believe that freedom is indivisible and it cannot exist in Warsaw and Krakow if it does not exist in Managua and San Salvador. So we have been active, pressuring some Congressmen of both parties to vote for aid to the Contras.

In this sense we are a hard-line, toughminded, conservative organization.

We also publish a quarterly of opinion, which now has changed to become a monthly of opinion. So we have an intellectual center now in the United States, such as Poles have had for years in Paris and London. Even though we are not a very large organization, with perhaps 1,000 or 1,200 members, we are obviously an ideological threat to the Communists.

We have representatives in some 20 States, most European capitals, Australia, and Canada.

Let me now move to some of the attacks in the Polish press against us. Bear with me if I am somewhat chaotic. This is not my major specialty in Pomost, active measures. I specialize in trade issues and sanctions.

Let me start with an item in Trybuna Ludu, the official Communist Party paper of March 4, 1985, entitled, "Activity Designed To Hurt Poland."

In Western Europe and the United States, there are several centers which conduct activities harmful to the People's Republic of Poland: Radio Free Europe, the so-called Polish Literary Institute—

Notice the heavy-handed irony. It is a literary institute. It does publish literary and historical books. But, of course, the Communist press in Poland wants to suggest that this institute in Paris is an agency of the CIA. That is why they use the term "so-called."

Toybuma Ludu goes on to attack the jounal Kultura, which is published by this literary institute, the journal Kontakt, a recently established journal of the Committee for Workers' Defense, a precursor of Solidarity, and, then the organization Pomost, which has a "decidedly terroristic character." All of these organizations cooperate with various intelligence agencies of countries hostile to Poland. Their aim is to destabilize Poland's internal situation and

to weaken its international situation and also threaten the security of the Polish People's Republic.

Publications and broadcasts of these organizations threaten the constitutional system of Poland. They disseminate lies, slanders, they incite to violence.

Then,

The Office of the Prosecutor General warns that collaboration with these hostile centers is a criminal offense, subject to penalties prescribed by law. These penalties will be administered with consistency and strictness.

As a matter of fact, the indictment against Adam Michnik, prominent in the Committee of Workers Defense, there was an attachment there that his contacts with Pomost suggest his subversive activities. We probably published an article by him without his knowledge when he was in detention. Everybody publishes Michnik. He is a big man. They are obviously using it against him.

Let me give you another example, example 3: "Pomost a link in the diversionary activities of the United States. That appeared in Rzeczpospolita, (The Republic) Warsaw, June 5, 1984. Here Pomost is blamed for the Polish boycott of the Olympics.

The aggressive policies of the Reagan Administration, combined with the threat of Pomost demonstrations, made it impossible for the Soviet Union and Poland to participate.

I did not know we were so powerful. It was, of course, an excuse.

The leadership of Pomost consists of fanatical anti-Communists. Pomost tries to impose itself on Polish-American life, but it is failing to do so.

They cannot imagine that one can be an ideological supporter of a President or that we may have held the President's ideas years before he became president. They accuse us of servility. "Its servility toward the Reagan administration and its reactionary attitude toward their own country"—here the Communist journalist means Poland—they forget that the vast majority of us are American citizens and have been in this country for 15 or 20 years or more—"disqualifies them in the eyes of Polish-American public opinion."

That is not true. The vast majority of Polish-Americans are anti-communist; being American, being pro-Reagan does not disqualify Pomost among Polish-Americans.

The Communist journalist goes on piling horror upon horror:

Pomost is financed by the CIA and the FBI. Pomost plays into the hands of the German revenge seekers. They have lost a complete sense of solidarity with the Polish nation.

The reference here is to Pomost's the renounce Yalta initiative. They interpret the renounce Yalta initiative as an attempt on the part of Pomost to surrender the western territories of Poland regained from Germany after World War II back to the German revenge seekers, so-called, and revisionists. This change has no basis in fact.

Pomost is the most reactionary exile group and has aligned itself with the anti-Polish forces of imperialism. Pomost bears a large part of the responsibility for the absence of Polish athletes in the Los Angeles Olympics.

Another example is a dispatch by the Polish Press Agency, which appeared in Trybuna Ludu, the party organ on the 27th of August, 1982.

"The American Polonia"—that is a generic term for Polish-Americans, which many Polish-Americans do not like because it suggests that all of us are economic emigres, whereas some of us are political refugees—"has rejected Solidarity. The formation of Solidarity groups was not successful." The reference here is to the period immediately following the crushing of Solidarity. "The largest group that survives seems to be Pomost, in Chicago." Again, they forget that we had been formed before Solidarity and that we are not recent emigres.

Further, the Communist journalist suggests that those young people, those recent emigres, they cannot have their own money. "Who is financing them?" Again, there are suggestions about the CIA, the FBI. They are obsessed with that subject. Of course, the attempt is to discredit people and to show that Pomost is not ideological or idealistic.

They ascribe those suspicions to Polish-Americans in Chicago. They pretend that they are only repeating what is the opinion Polish-Americans say about of Pomost in Chicago.

There are several other items like that, harping on Pomost's alleged cooperation with the German revenge seekers and ties with the CIA. But instead of trying to give you more specific examples, perhaps I will conclude my testimony now and wait for my final statement.

[The information referred to follows:]

EXAMPLES OF DISINFORMATION ABOUT THE

POMOST ORGANIZATION

September 13, 1985

European Sub-Committee of the Foreign Relations Committee

SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES

EXAMPLE 1	Forged document directed to the Chicago Polish ethnic community. It was very insulting to the Polish-American Congress, the largest Polish ethnic group in the U.S.A. and meant to exacerbate differences between the two groups. Also included is letter to the FBI requesting an investigation into the matter.
EXAMPLE 2	POMOST called a "terrorist organization" in the Polish press.
EXAMPLE 3	Polish press alleges that POMOST will terrorize Polish olympians.
EXAMPLE 4	Polish press alleges that POMOST takes money from U.S. agencies for work against Poland.
EXAMPLE 5	Polish press alleges that POMOST supports hijackers.
EXAMPLE 6	Polish press alleges that POMOST obtains money from U.S. agencies for diversionary activities.
EXAMPLE 7	Polish press alleges that POMOST wants to change Polish borders.
EXAMPLE 8	Polish press writes that POMOST protested against Polish Cardinal Glemp on his visit to the U.S. (visit never took place).
EXAMPLE 9	Polish press writes that POMOST wants to revise Polish borders and destroy Poland.
EXAMPLE 10	Polish press writes that POMOST wants war.

POMOST (EXAMPLE 1)

Chicago, marzec, 1982

POMOST Socio-Political Movement powstał na wskutek potrzeby stworzenia DRUGIEJ SIŁY przeciwstawnej dla Kongresu Polonii Amerykańskiej. Oportunistyczna działalność Mazewskiego i jego popleczników jest na rękę reżimowi. Kongres nie jest aktywny. Polonii potrzeba bojowych akcji. Organizacje oportunistyczne trzeba zburzyć i wybudować nowe.

Obecne przywództwo polonijne:

1/. Straciło ideowość.
2/. Nie rozumie spraw polskich.
3/. Działa dla zysków finansowych i osobistych.
4/. Nie potrafi zjednoczyć Polonii.
5/. Jest zinfiltrowane przez reżim.

Kwartalnik "Pomost" i radio "Pomost" są wyrazicielami Ruchu.
Ruch ma charakter bezkompromisowy.

Celem Ruchu jest działanie dla WOLNEJ POLSKI.
Pierwszym krokiem jest zdobycie finansów przez zakładanie byznesów, zwiększenie środowisk "pomostowych", znalezienie wpływowych przyjaciół, i innych dróg dla zwiększenia wpływów.
Ruch wyznaje twardą metodę postępowania. Przeciwników trzeba demaskować i zwalczać.

POMOST Socio-Political Movement będzie grupować przyszłych przywódców Polonii.
Stara Polonia może się zajmować sprawami amerykańskimi, Ruch będzie się zajmował tylko sprawami polskimi.

Do Ruchu może należeć tylko elita gotowa do poświęcen.

Rzecznikiem Ruchu jest Ryszard Jonak.
Przywódcą Ruchu jest Krzysztof Rac-Manswet.

3242 N. PULASKI RD. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60641

POMOST

SOCIO-POLITICAL MOVEMENT
RUCH SPOŁECZNO-POLITYCZNY

(EXAMPLE 1)

Chicago, April 15, 1982.

Mr. Edward D. Hegarty
Special Agent in Charge
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Federal Building
219 South Dearborn
Chicago, Illinois 60604

Dear Mr. Hegarty,

It has been directed to my attention that certain unknown individuals are using our organization's name and stationery to disrupt the political activities of the Polish-American Community.

The actions of these individuals seem to indicate that a foreign power, namely Polish People's Republic, is directing its efforts to infiltrate and disrupt political processes of our country.

As an example of these actions I am enclosing a copy of such a letter issued in our name.

I hope that you will take appropriate steps in order to apprehend and convict any individuals guilty of working with or for a foreign power and against national interests of our country.

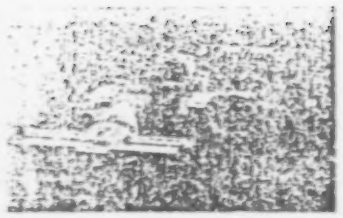
Sincerely yours,

Manswet C. Rae

Manswet C. Rae
Pomost Coordinator

MCR/jw
encl.

3242 N. PULASKI RD. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60641



Loren Alana Prusta w drodze do zwycięstwa na torze w Nowej.

Fot. CAF — UPI

Honorowa trybuna trenera

W służbie sportu

W poniedziałek 6 bm. w Ośrodku Młodzieżowym ZSMP Warszawie zgromadzone liste uczestników XII plebiscytu honorowej trybuny trenera wychowawcy młodzieży" zbiorczi zorganizowany z... przez Zarząd Główny ZMP i redakcję „Sztandaru ...ych", a kandydatury trenerów zgłaszali młodzi sportowcy z całej Polski. Do organizatorów plebiscytu wpły... ło 74 kandydatury i — jak wiedział przewodniczący ...ału sportu ZG ZSMP M. ...ajewski — wszyscy swoją ...ną pracę dla sportu i ...oczyste zasłużyli na wy...nienie. Regulamin jed... znak niezbędny i organizatorzy musieli wybrać ...cioro z dziesiątki.

Oto lista nagrodzonych (w ...olejności alfabetycznej): ...ter Biegaj (MKS „Victoria" ...awer — akrobatyka), Zygmunt Chojnak (Skra Warszawa — piłka ręczna), Bolesław Dreadowski (Pilica Tomaszów Maz. — lekka atletyka, trzykrotnym zdybiel. ...ździsław Frankiewicz (Bałtyk Mielec — pływanie), Wojciech Gora (MKS MDK Warszawa — piłka siatkowa), Władysław Jakubek (Start Łódź — pływanie), Jan Marciniak (Górnik Iwonicz Zdrój — narciarstwo), Jan Nowak (Warta Poznań — szermierka), Stefan Polaczek (LKS Terespol — podnoszenie ciężarów), Andrzej Wichman (Astra Nowa Sól — lekka atletyka).

Wymieniona dziesiątka — to ludzie, którzy poświęcili dla sportu wiele lat swego życia. Bardzo często praca rozpoczynali od zera, bez żadnego wsparcia finansowego, czy zaplecza. Przykładem może być Stefan Polaczek, który samorzutnie dźwigiem dla ... na terenie organizowanej w 1978 roku sekcji podnoszenia ciężarów. Obecnie jego wychowankowie zdobywają medale na międzynarodowych i ligowych zawodach młodzieży.

Na spotkanie z uczestnikami plebiscytu obecny był przewodniczący Rady Głównej ZSMP — *J. Jaskierski.*

(PAP)

Roland Garros

Barometr

Na kortach Roland Garros prawie bez przerwy pada deszcz. Nie więc dziwnego, że organizatorzy zaczynają się niepokoić od wertowania prognoz pogody, zaś w sportowym dzienniku „L'Equipe" rubryki meteorologiczne zajmują poczesne miejsce obok relacji z tenisowych zmagań. I tak jednym z wielkich zwycięzców tegorocznego turnieju na pewno będzie meteorolog, który w ciągu dwóch tygodni trafnie przepowie, kiedy można będzie grać, a kiedy nie. Bo jeśli nie ten, to ani zawodnicy, ani widzowie nie będą zadowoleni. Rzeczywiście, Sandoz przeżywa się dziś, jak

(EXAMPLE 4)

ślnej. 10-lecia przewyższa, osiągnęła i rolnictwo zostało w wielu dziedzinach wyposażone w nowe technologie pozwalające na osiągnięcie znacznie wyższych wyników. Wskaźnikiem zwiększania nakładów na rozwój kultury jest wydawanie 6—8 książek rocznie w przeliczeniu na jednego mieszkańca kraju, licznego 8,3 mln ludności. 75 proc. handlu zagranicznego Bułgarii zajmuje wymiana z krajami RWPG, w tym szczególnie z ZSRR.

Bułgarska polityka zagraniczna oparta jest na zasadach braterskiej współpracy z krajami socjalistycznymi. Pomimo brzydzy w Polsce — obydwa kraje wywiązują z natwierdzą plan współpracy ekonomicznej.

Potwierdzeniem bliskiej przyjaźni łączącej Polskę i Bułgarię stała się wizyta delegacji partyjno-państwowej PRL w Bułgarii w maju br.

(PAP)

Chiny odrzucają pokojową propozycję Wietnamu

PEKIN (PAP). Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych ChRL poinformowało Ambasadę Wietnamu w Pekinie, że Chiny odrzucły wietnamską propozycję wstrzymania wzajemnych wrogich działań na wspólnej granicy na okres od 17 aż do 8 października, tj. na czas, w którym przypadają święta narodowe ChRL i WRN. Strona chińska oświadczyła Wietnamowi odpowiedzialność za utrzymywanie się napięcia na granicy między obydwoma krajami i pozwalanie „politykę antychińską".

polskiego rządu, zawierające ostrzeżenie, że demonstracje uliczne mogą zakończyć się niebezpiecznymi konsekwencjami.

Amerykańska Agencja UPI pisząc na ten temat wskazuje, że „rząd polski stwierdził w środę, iż podziemie „Solidarność" planuje przeprowadzenie masowych demonstracji ulicznych, mających odbyć się w rocznicę zarejestrowania przez sąd „Solidarności".

Amerykańska Polonia nie popiera „Pomostu"

WASZYNGTON (PAP). Korespondent PAP, Stanisław Olabiński, pisze: W kołach Zjednoczeniowych daje się wyraźnie zauważyć dość zdecydowane ujawnienie. Mimo szerokiego głosu wyrażanego stanowiska USA w sprawach polskich, nowa „emigracja polityczna" o nazwie kraju nie chce się za nic sympatii, ani szerokim poparciem, ani uznaniem.

Próby stworzenia jakiejś jednolitej organizacji politycznej, która mogłaby zgłosić się kontynuatorom „Solidarności", skończyły się niepowodzeniem. Przedstawiciele „Solidarności", którzy znaleźli się w USA, działali i nadal działają zazwyczaj w pojedynczych przypadkach. Mało lub jedynie w sposób bardzo ostrożny interesuje się nimi administracja waszyngtońska, a wynik nie interesuje się nimi Polonia amerykańska, której kierownictwo i działalność zajęli w stosunku do tej fali emigracji stanowisko niechętne, jeśli nie wręcz niepryjazne.

Nowa emigracja, w każdym razie jej odłam uważający się za „emigrację polityczną", stworzyła kilka lub kilkanaście różnorodnie działających ugrupowań. Największym wydaje się czynna w rejonie Chicago organizacja o nazwie „Pomost", której działanie daje pojęcie o tym, jak niektórzy radykalnie z „Solidarności" wyobrażają sobie pracę na emigracji. „Pomost" jest ugrupowaniem skrajnym, wyrażającym tendencje wojowniczo zapatrzone wrogie Polsce Ludowej.

Działają i inne ugrupowania, zawsze jednak na marginesie ruchu polonijnego w USA.

Skąd biorą się pieniądze na tego rodzaju działalność wprawiony? Oczywiście nikt tego nie wie. Stara Polonia nie przysłała ani dolara kredytów na praktyki, które budzą w niej poważne zastrzeżenia i wątpliwości. Nowi emigranci własnych funduszy mieć nie mogą. Pozostają więc jedynie domysły, których echa słyszy się w kręgach polonijnych. Że fundusze te muszą pochodzić od jakichś instytucji amerykańskich, zainteresowanych podtrzymywaniem działania o charakterze jednostronnie dywersyjno-wywrotowym,

[illegible] socjalistycznych na skazane na fiasko".

Polska nie jest sama [illegible] plasa „Prawda" — będąc [illegible] socjalistycznej współ[illegible] Układu Warszawskiego [illegible] w trudnych chwilach moż[illegible] na sprawdzonych przyjaciół [illegible] Jugosławii. Jak wiadomo, [illegible] Radzieckiej i inne kr[illegible] socjalistyczne udzieliły Pol[illegible] ważnej pomocy. Ostatnio [illegible] nie ma niedawne [illegible] spotkanie odbywane [illegible] ge KC KPZR, przewodn[illegible] Prezydium Rady Na[illegible] ZSRR, Leonida Brez[illegible] pierwszym sekretarz[illegible] PZPR, przewodniczące[illegible] Ministrów PRL, Wo[illegible] Jaruzelskim.

Przywrócenie akre[illegible] koresponden[illegible] „Trybuny L[illegible] w Waszyngt[illegible]

WASZYNGTON (PA[illegible] ub Departamentu St[illegible] odwiedzeń 25 bm., [illegible] wrócenie akredytacji [illegible] dentowi „New York T[illegible] Warszawie Johnowi Da[illegible] nałyśmy [illegible] wobec [illegible] pondenta „Trybuny [illegible] Stanach Zjednoczonych [illegible] mierza Lesińskiego.

Jak już podawaliśmy [illegible] akredytacyjną cofnięt[illegible] nowi 20 bm. w związ[illegible] kazaniem przez niego [illegible] korespondencji zawie[illegible] formacje nieprawdziwe [illegible] prawdzone. We wtorek [illegible] domiono Dunsona, że [illegible] mu przywrócenie [illegible] akredytacyjna, przy c[illegible] lem mu poważnego [illegible]

Trybuna Ludu 27. VII. 82

(EXAMPLE 5).

Dziennik Zjednoczenie, 1993
Trybuna Robotnicza
Katowice

(PAP) przemawia ...

Do jakiej kasy sięgnęła najnowsza polska emigracja?

Dolary dla piratów

WASZYNGTON (PAP)

Działająca w Stanach Zjednoczonych i posiadająca swoją centralę w Chicago skrajnie prawicowa i niebezpiecznie racząca polonijna organizacja „Pomost" podjęła akcję nie mającą precedensu w tak przeciętnym barwnym, zróżnicowanym, a w wielu sprawach bezradnym wobec świecie współczesnym. Owa organizacja ta, czy raczej konfederacja różnych luźnych grupek najmłodszej, najnowszej emigracji z Polski, podjęła akcję popierania z pomocą porywaczom samolotów polskich.

Akcja polega na obecnym etapie na tym, że polska radiostacja w Chicago, wynajmowana przez „Pomost", ogłosiła akcję zbiórki pieniężnej na podjęcie obrony prawnej porywaczy samolotów polskich aktualnie przed sądami w Europie Zachodniej.

Ogłoszenia o tego rodzaju — nieprzeciętnej mówiąc rozumianej akcji — ukazały się również na płatnych kolumnach wielu dzienników polskich w Stanach i Kanadzie.

Na początku ogłoszono, że zbiera się pieniądze na obronę porywaczy, którzy uprowadzili samolot LOT w kwietniu br. i którzy zostali już przez sąd Berlina Zachodniego skazani na stosunkowo zresztą niewysokie kary więzienia. W najbliższych tygodniach ma się odbyć proces apelacyjny porywaczy. I na ten właśnie proces, na obronę prawną, ogłosiła zbiórkę chicagowska centrala „Pomostu" informując przy tym, że jej „przedstawiciel" w Berlinie Zachodnim podejmuje już działania i przygotowuje obronę porywaczy.

„Pomost" trzeźwo nie ma zamiaru ograniczyć się do tej jednej sprawy. Choć w ogóle programowo bronić powietrznych bandytów, a przy tym chce rozwinąć całą kampanię mającą świadczyć, że porywacze samolotów z Polski uciekają na Zachodzie, przynajmniej w pewnych kołach, uznanie i sympatię... obronę, pomoc i [illegible] słowa.

Kampania „Pomostu" jest bez precedensu. Żadna inna organizacja innej narodowości nie zdobyła się na publiczne poparcie aktów piractwa, na organizowanie zbiórek na porywaczy, na „gloryfikowanie" czynu, który niezależnie od jakichkolwiek motywów jest czynem groźnie przestępczym i głęboko potępianym. Dodajmy, że szczególnie mocno potępianym w Stanach Zjednoczonych, które już tyle razy były terenem powietrznego piractwa.

„Pomost" jest organizacją szczególnego rodzaju. Organizacja niebezpiecznie zbliża się do tego, co określamy mianem zjawiska terrorystycznego a na dodatek ma nietajne powiązania z różnymi instytucjami amerykańskimi. Nikt dokładnie nie wie, skąd „Pomost" czerpie pieniądze, a prawie jego powstania sugerują, że pieniędzy na niektóre akcje ma zaskakująco dużo. Od „Pomostu" dystansują się wszystkie inne organizacje polonijne, nawet zdecydowanie prawicowe. W Stanach powszechnie wiadomo, że wokół „Pomostu" parzenie nie najlepiej. I teraz do działania tej dziwacznej organizacji dochodzi jeszcze akcja podejmowana w obronie porywaczy prowadzona z rozmachem, z całą kampanią propagandową, najwyraźniej z myślą o sprowokowaniu kogoś w Polsce do nowych czynów przestępczych.

dziennik Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej. Redakcja kolegium.

Żołnierz Wolności 28 sierpnia 1982

Nowa „emigracja polityczna" z Polski nie cieszy się sympatią w USA

WASZYNGTON, 9 sie... (A). ...nach wyraźnie ...lematyczne ...nowisk ...kich, ...tyczna ...cierz ...rzeki ...niem, ...jednolicie ...amerykańskiej ...wo i d... ...ku do ...wisko ...mocy.

Nowa ...rzuje ...się na ...stwierdzi ...narodzi ...wad. ...czyma ...ganizac ...której

...ich, jak ...ich grup ...ich ...ich ...ich

Poniedziałek, 24 października
Warszawa, „Express Wieczorny"

W związku z inicjatywą „Pomostu"

Komu to służy?

„NADZIEJA najwięksom akcją jest obecnie domaganie się obalenia Jałty. Władnie z tą sprawą na przyjęciu tutaj, do Waszyngtonu, gdzie przeprowadziliśmy rozmowy z wielkim kongresmanem i otrzymaliśmy poparcie, jeśli chodzi o tę akcję. Obecnie w różnych miastach Stanów Zjednoczonych zbieramy podpisy pod petycją, która obali Jałtę. Petycję tę przedłożę w tych miast, nawet i tu, w tych krajów. Będą one przedstawione Kongresowi amerykańskiemu".

Wydawać by się mogło, iż zdanie to mógł wypowiedzieć jedynie człowiek absolutnie pozbawiony realizmu politycznego lub co najwyżej przedstawiciel nacjonalistycznych reakcjonistów, czy też innej odwiecznej organizacji zachodniej, walczącej o zmianę terytorialnego i politycznego status quo w Europie. Życie jednak jest tutaj bogatsze od najśmielszych rojeń rozmaitych faszystów, albowiem kwestia ta wyglądi „reprezentant" pewnej części amerykańskiej Polonii, i to jej najbardziej reakcyjnej, i w imieniu tejże najbardziej antypolskiego odłamu, jakim jest bez wątpienia grupa o wdzięcznej nazwie „Pomost".

Autor tych rewelacji, pan Adam Klorek, o Kalifornii jest oficjalnie „radcą dyrektorów" wymienionej organizacji i należy do drugiego pokolenia Polaków, urodzonych za oceanem, włada jednak na tyle językiem swoich przodków, iż mógł w nim udzielić wywiadu dla rozgłośni „Głos Ameryki". W rozmowie stwierdził m. in., iż „Pomost" jest polityczną organizacją, która stara się wywierać presję na rząd i społeczeństwo amerykańskie. Domagamy się utrzymania sankcji przeciwko juncie Jaruzelskiego, przeciwko Moskwie... Toraz wiemy już właściwie wszystko — w czyim interesie wygłaszane są takie tezy, komu mają one podłoże współczesnego świata i skąd pochodzić mogą pieniądze na utrzymywanie podobnych „związków etnicznych".

Dla każdego trzeźwo myślącego człowieka jest oczywiste, że każda próba podważenia istniejących granic, każde zakwestionowanie de facto istniejących powojennych realiów politycznych, jak właśnie wskazy Jałtańskie, oznaczać musi w konsekwencji nie innego, jak odłożenie szczęścia współczesnego świata w niebyt nieobliczalnego w skutkach globalnego, atomowego konfliktu. Działania te nie tylko nie służą interesom naszego kraju, ale i wspólnym interesom, również z narodem amerykańskim.

Dodajmy, iż do tej akcji włączyła się także część rzekomo ze skrajnie konserwatywnych poglądów hierowskiej Kongresu Polonii Amerykańskiej. Utrzymuje ona prawo do przemawiania w imieniu społeczności polonijnej, która w swej przytłaczającej większości dystansuje się od podobnych, antypolskich i antynarodowych poczynań.

Dodatkowej pikanterii całej sprawie nadaje fakt, iż broni tej podejmowane są na terenie kraju, który jest sygnatariuszem Aktu Końcowego z Helsinek. A jak pamiętamy, wyraźnie stwierdza się w nim nienaruszalność porządku terytorialnego, powstałego po II wojnie światowej i potwierdzona zasadą nieingerencji w wewnętrzne sprawy innych państw. Zapewne dlatego nawet przedstawiciel obecnej administracji USA, wiceprezydent George Bush, który nie tak dawno nawoływał w swoim wystąpieniu w Wiedniu do zbudzenia układów jałtańskich, zmuszony był zdecydowanie zaprzeczyć się, że „Stany Zjednoczone nie dążą do destabilizacji jałtańskiego ładu".

A jak to wygląda w rzeczywistości, możemy przekonać się codziennie, obserwując „pokojowe" poczynania Waszyngtonu w Ameryce Środkowej czy Południowej, na Bliskim Wschodzie i wielu innych rejonach świata.

JERZY ANICKI

(EXAMPLE 7)

(EXAMPLE 8)

[illegible], 16.IX.1982

Rozmowy przedstawicieli WKO z robotnikami

Potrzeba większego społecznego poparcia

Wczoraj odbyło się pierwsze po wakacyjnej przerwie posiedzenie Zespołu Robotniczych Inicjatyw Wojewódzkiej Miejskiej Rady Narodowej. Spotkanie prowadził przewodniczący WKO — prezydent m. Łodzi Józef Niewiadomski. Obecny był także członek WKON — płk Kazimierz Gerlecki. Robotnicze inicjatywy dotyczą szeroko pojmowanego działalności podstawowych ogniw samorządu terytorialnego. Przy WKO przez kilka miesięcy istnieje specjalny zespół, który zajmuje się koordynacją tych inicjatyw.

Podczas wczorajszych obrad przewodniczący WKO przyjął z zadowoleniem informację o dalszych krokach na rzecz utworzenia w Łodzi 13 bm. rejonowych komitetów. Fakty takie nas cieszą. F. L.

GŁOS ROBOTNICZY, 16.IX.1982

„POMOST" DONIKĄD

Milionowi młodzieży zrzeszonej we wszystkich stronach świata nie wolno zapomnieć o tragedii Polski. Dlatego też nie możemy milczeć, gdy widzimy, jak ta młodzież, która w 1945 roku wyciągnęła pomocną dłoń do zniszczonej wojną Polski, dziś, w 37 lat później, wyciąga rękę do Polski, która znalazła się w sytuacji podobnej do tej sprzed lat.

Zacytujmy za Trybuną Ludu: „Pragnie wyrazić swoje głębokie przekonanie, że wszystkie siły postępowe świata, wszystkie siły pokoju, wszystkie siły przeciwne wojnie, wszystkie siły stojące na straży pokoju i bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego, wszystkie siły walczące o zakończenie wyścigu zbrojeń, o rozbrojenie, o zapobieżenie groźbie wojny atomowej, nie pozostaną obojętne wobec tych wydarzeń, które zagrażają pokojowi w Europie i na całym świecie". Tak brzmiała rezolucja Międzynarodowej Konferencji Solidarności z Ludem Polskim, która odbyła się w Berlinie Zachodnim. Umożliwiła nam to bogata „literatura" wydawana przez organizację „Pomost". Para wiec, by artykuły te ukazywały się ukradkiem, za to w normalnej, przez nikogo budowanej i dbanej ma prowadzić.

* * *

Zacytujmy od nowa inne strony. Podczas niedawnej wizyty prymasa Polski Józefa Glempa w Stanach Zjednoczonych miały tam miejsce godne ubolewania akcje protestacyjne przeciwko głowie Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce. Organizatorami tych burd — a jest to określenie zastanowienie z amerykańskiej prasy codziennej — byli... Polacy. Przynajmniej tak się sami określają. Polacy którzy stworzyli w USA objazd który tam tydzień temu. Rada Społeczno-Polityczna „Pomost". W owych demonstracjach rozsianych na wszystkie strony świata, ze gdzie leciał wszystkich Polaków na świecie wszystkie pokolenia i ugrupowania polityczne.

Książę niezbitnym jest, że był pierwszym, który zaczął się z ich metodami. Wcześniej doświadczyli ich miejscowi artyści występujący na terenie Stanów Zjednoczonych i Kanady. Zaczęli się z nimi rywalizować — amerykańscy politycy. W czerwcu bieżącego roku podczas zorganizowanej właśnie przez „Pomost" demonstracji przed Konsulatem PRL w Chicago grupa bolszewickich zasadzie na emigrantów starszej generacji, że ukrywają oni swoich dzieci przed wpływami Zjednoczonych i Kanady. Zaczęli się z nimi rywalizować — amerykańscy politycy. W czerwcu bieżącego roku podczas zorganizowanej właśnie przez „Pomost" demonstracji przed Konsulatem PRL w Chicago grupa bolszewickich zasadzie na emigrantów starszej generacji, że ukrywają oni swoich dzieci przed wpływami [illegible]

Film pt Trzaskom Polaków. Trybuna Ludu i Teraz w Polsce. Rzeczpospolitej Ludowej będą te same słowa [illegible] Kazimierz Kaczmarek, Marian K. Stramski, Joachim Budzińska, Janusz Zmudo, Stefan Sandler, Henryk Ekhardt, Zdzisław Cieślak, Tadeusz Szmber, Tomek Hartwig i inni.

Wiesław z nich jest w wieku 33-35 lat. W wieku, w Polsce urodził wojnę wyzwoleńcze. Ci natomiast i podobni reprezentują amerykańskie nacjonalizm obwarowany na terytorium rzekomo zaczął wyłaniać z Polski, był w 1968 roku. Inni przedstawiciele są w nowym [illegible] kiedy [illegible] Polacy [illegible] w Austrii.

Jak widzimy są w praktyce na bardzo dobrze wyposażeni. Przede wszystkim w [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

(EXAMPLE 8)

(Głos Robotniczy, 16.IX.82) 21

wia się że ich zarzuty wzbudzą na dalszych listach bezpokój i przerażenie do konspiracji. Kobieta zdziwiona na 48 godzin twierdzi, że zatrzymanym katana przez cały czas stać i nie dano żadnego posłuchania. Stoczniu w Gdańsku w dalszym ciągu w tekach robotników, którzy stoją wyraźnie się w powietrze. Na Politechnice Gdańskiej studenci protestowali przeciwko aresztowaniom profesorów: 14 osób zabitych. Źródła dyplomatyczne ujawniło że w zakładach odzieży w Estonii są szyte polskie mundury wojskowe. Funkcjonuje zasada bierzego onemu ado ZOMO zlecia fabryk. Tudzież ale stawiają oporu to natychmiast aresztowanom, bredy ZOMO czarnom się w inne miejsce strajkowe.

28 grudnia — Zbigniew Bulak znajduje się na wolności i narzeka się „Solidarność Mazowsze" wzywa w tajnym biuletynie do powszechnego strajku biernego. Wśród osób publicznie popierających WRON-ę znalazł się m. in. prezydent Czesław Niemen.

2. grudnia — Polaków zmusza się do podpisywania deklaracji lojalności. Zgoda się te robotnicy podpisują z pasztetu organizuje strajk.

7 stycznia — na siedzibie Zarządu Regionu NSZZ „Solidarność" w Lublinie wywieszono zabliczkę z napisem „Wojewódzka Rada Związków Zawodowych". Pod Racomiem leci ołtarz w którym przetrzymywanych jest w namiotach około 3 tysięcy osób. Admirał Jaruzelski ujawnił że zatrzymani tam są: lżywiarze Solidarności", Kaśmirz i milionerów fauci.

11 stycznia — znowuby partyjnych wojennego dowódcy okręg. Wojenne lds zwoli lub samochody nasypane wyjmując bramy zapasowe przez robotników Polem lds 1—2 szeregi ZOMO tłukąc pałkami w swoje tarcze potem 1—2 szeregi wolno i na koniec 1—2 szeregi MO które pałkują ewentualnych demonstrantów.

13 stycznia — sytuacja w szkolnictwie po wprowadzeniu nauki Stefan Bredzie i wyższe mają przedsiębiorczych komisarzy wojskowych którzy czuwają na to nad tym, by nikt swoje stanowisko na tej terenie nie wchodził i przeciwdziałanie przedmiotu zwalnianego „przeciwdziałaniem obronnym".

Dalmo tak sobie snobki tym czasem. Podobno sieć budzi może być nomenów wyłąc tym które nie orientując się co faktycznie dzieje się w dalszej! Polsce, skłonni są nadzieje uchu wszelkim sensacjom. Pozostaje natomiast jedno nadzwyczaj istotne pytanie: czemu i po co ma służyć ta mistyfikacja? Kogo wszystkie te brednie mają przekonać o „terrorystycznej agresji Sowietów". O terrorze i masowym ludobójstwie dokonującym się w Polsce"?

Grube zmiany Kwartalnika Społeczno-Politycznego „Pomost" i tamte inne drukiem redagowane przez emigrantów z roku 1968 i ich późniejszych pomocników sobą zrobią tzw. „demokratycznej opozycji w Polsce" mają przede wszystkim stanowić dla zmierzającej opinii publicznej „autentyczny głos reprezentantów ucisk nionego narodu polskiego" dlatego uzasadnienie dla zagranicznej polityki w Europie Mają te brednie uwierzytelnić miliony dolarów zarobionych w rzekomo nielegalnie rozsiewanie radiowe służby socjalne i tak dalej. Dla samych też autorów wszystkie te publikacje i wszystkie w dziesiątkach miast USA i Kanady proletariackim burdy uliczne miały równocześnie zaślubiły lonkot bomb strusz ących przez izraelskich pilotów na Bejrut zaślubiły wrzawę wokół agresji na Pilskim Wschodzie.

Wrzawa podnoszona wokół „pomostu" dla wszystkich Polaków na świecie ma jeszcze jeden cel. Nie zapominajmy że Stany Zjednoczone, a zwłaszcza Chicago, gdzie redagowany jest i wydawany w piętnastu starannej szacie graficznej ów Kwartalnik Społeczno-Polityczny to zdecydowanym skupiskiem Polonii. Spróbujmy przeczytać na wspomniane listy przedstawicieli terenowych „Pomostu": Nowy Jork Los Angeles Milwaukee Seattle Houston Toronto Edmonton Johannesburg, Londyn Paryż Hamden w Szwecji, Berlin Zachodni Adelaide Sydney Melbourne Warszawa ? czas kraśc i ulicy Śmierci znaleźli się w tym towarzystwie dla przeciwdziałania Chodzi przecież o to nie wiemy Polonii, o dotarcie do niej właśnie z owym zleklem bzdur na temat rozwoju sytuacji w starym kraju. O dezorientację Polonii w stosunku do przemian normalizacyjnych zachodzących w Polsce. Zasiłe wspomniały to „pomost" dla wszystkich Polaków na świecie.

Przyszłość się wiec losowo (vilko jedno) zdawać — to czyż oczywiście? Czerkowa odpowiedź Zaldiewicz w publikacjach „Pomostu" Wyżarczyć przytoczyć nie liście autorów tamtejszych w kwartalniku publikacji wspomnianego już S. Barańczak nazwa Mirosław Chojecki Elżbieta Bieńkowska są zwrym szkiem. Bolam obrwolenie wolnego kraju" Janusz K. Zawodny Włodzimierz Jarzębski. Rysard Śleszyński Ignacy Boniecki. Lista autorów i jest niezwykle bogata bowiem obok kwartalnika „Pomost" dysponuje leszcze własnym programem radiowym w Chicago Strasznie duże pieniądze lds w te robotę — brzeli dosłu razem radio, wydawnictwa i skoje propagandowe — tylko z czyjej kieszeni?

Na pewno nie z własnych kieszeni autorów. Oni musza przecież z czegoś żyć! Uwidaczniła się to w omawianych kwotach przekazywanych do kraju na działalność konspiracyjną. W numerze 13 wolno się więc, jak to: przesłano do kraju drogą prywatną na wydawnictwa „Solidarność Wrzaskie]" — 200 dolarów na niezależne wydawnictwa chłopskie — 150 dolarów. W numerze 14 odnotowano przekazanie drogą prywatną na pomoc internowanym i ich rodzinom 200 dolarów Komitetowi Pomocy „Solidarność" w N Jorku — 225 dolarów oraz — przekazano do kraju za pośrednictwem agencji KULTURY na działalność „Solidarność" — 1490 dolarów ruchu demokratycznego i niezależne wydawnictwa — 227 dolarów pomoc więźniom politycznym internowanym i ich rodzinom — 88 dolarów na Fundusz Wydawniczy KOR — 100 dolarów — koniec cytatu. Czyżby autorzy „zapomnieli", że KOR rozwiązał się sam ponad rok temu wrześniu?

Mamy więc wyjaśnienie w tej kwestii — autorzy Radia Wolna Europa Głosu Ameryki oraz antypolskich i antyradzieckich pseudowieli rozsyłanych na całym świecie silnie powiązanych wszystko co wymyśla w Monachium pomocnicy kadrowego pracownika amerykańskich służb specjalnych — Zdzisława Naldera, korrzysta z pomocy drugiego pracownika CIA — Giedroycia.

Tak więc nie wyglądał ów „pomost" dla wszystkich Polaków, budowany przez Polskę który w 1968 roku zrozwenowali i okcyzerzy? Na pytanie — dokad ma on prowadzić niech każdy odpowie sobie sam.

STANISŁAW LEWICKI

Trybuna Ludu

ORGAN KOMITETU CENTRALNEGO POLSKIEJ ZJEDNOCZONEJ PARTII R

Rok XXXVII Warszawa, poniedziałek 4 marca 1985 r.

Działalność godząca w Polskę

Komunikat Prokuratury Generalnej

W niektórych państwach Europy Zachodniej i w Stanach Zjednoczonych funkcjonuje szereg ośrodków prowadzących działalność na szkodę interesów PRL. Od wielu lat znane są z dywersyjnej działalności: „Radio Wolna Europa" i tzw. Instytut Literacki w Paryżu — wydawca „Kultury", „Zeszytów Literackich" oraz „Zeszytów Historycznych". W ostatnich latach powstały dalsze struktury prowadzące tego rodzaju działalność, wśród nich tzw. Biura Koordynacyjne NSZZ „Solidarność" za granicą z siedzibą w Brukseli, wydawnictwo „Kontakt" w Paryżu, a także mające wyraźnie terrorystyczny charakter organizacje pn. „Zjednoczenie" w USA oraz tzw. [illegible]

Bezsporna stwierdzona ich mniej lub bardziej zakamuflowana współdziałalność z zagranicznymi ośrodkami wywiadowczymi, jak również ogłaszanie przez nie otwartych wezwań do dywersji, sabotażu, strajków, a nawet interwencji zbrojnej przeciwko Polsce Ludowej, stanowią dowody ich wrogiej działalności.

Publikacje i audycje tych ośrodków godzą w konstytucyjny ustrój państwa i jego naczelne organy, rozpowszechniają kłamliwe, oszczercze wiadomości, podburzają i instruują do poczynań zagrażających spokojowi społecznemu. Z ich inspiracji i dzięki wsparciu finansowemu i materialno-technicznemu — organizowane są także akcje ze zbrojną i zagrażającą bezpieczeństwu osób i instytucji PRL na granicy.

Wielu obywateli polskich pozostających, lub podczas pobytu poza granicami kraju, było pozyskiwanych do współpracy na szkodę Polski. Niektórzy z nich, świadomie, za własną inicjatywą, kierując się różnymi motywami, często materialnymi, sami podejmują się udziału w tego rodzaju działalności.

Prokuratura Generalna przypomina, że współpraca z wrogim Polsce ośrodkiem zagranicznym jest przestępstwem i podlega karze przewidzianej w przepisach prawa oraz pociąga przed odpowiedzialnością, która — w obronie interesów państwa i obywateli — będzie surowa i z całą konsekwencją egzekwowana. (PAP)

(EXAMPLE 2)

Na celowniku Jałta

Ślepy, gracze i Polska

Przez dziesięciolecia Układ Jałtański zwykło się uważać – na Wschodzie i na Zachodzie – za jedną z podstaw powojennego ładu pokojowego w Europie. Od jakiegoś czasu wiszące latem, którym wodzi ów lad coraz śmielej występują przeciwko jałtańskim w Jałcie decyzjom, opowiadając się, za ich rewizją lub nawet unieważnieniem. Co to dla nas – Polaków – oznacza, jakże realistyczny niekiedy, również na łamach „Perspektyw" to próba zadania ciosu najżywotniejszym interesom Polski, jej bezpieczeństwu i gwarancjom.

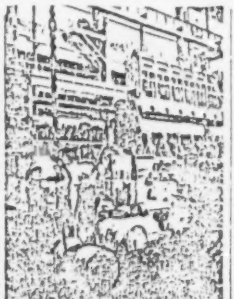
Taka jest prawda, niezależnie od bałamutnych deklaracji barwowanych „przyjaźń" Polaki – zwolenników rewizji układów. Zdumiewa i smuci, gdy dołączają do nich Polacy bądź osoby polskiego pochodzenia.

„Głos Ameryki" stwierdził 19 października br., iż „grupy etniczne w Stanach Zjednoczonych, zwłaszcza Amerykanie polskiego pochodzenia, domagają się od administracji prezydenta Reagana i Kongresu formalnego unieważnienia Układu Jałtańskiego". Dodał, że owe grupy etniczne są „pasjonalne przez wiele osobistości amerykańskiego życia politycznego".

Smutne i zastanawiające. Bo łatwo pojąć w co gra, przez kogo i dlaczego jest podpuszczana niemiecka grupa etniczna, jawnie – jakobinie jak siły rewizjonistyczne w RFN – opowiadająca się za granicami Rzeszy z 1937 r., co jednak może mieć wspólnego z jej interesami Polonia amerykańska? To prawda, że nie jest ona jednolita, że patriotyczna i znaczna jej część opowiada się przeciwko polityce naruszającej europejskie realia, słusznie rozumując, iż niesie to w konsekwencji zagrożenie pokoju, bezpieczeństwa i zachodnich granic Starego Kraju. Ale jest również znaczące (tym jaskrawiej, że krzykliwa) część, która uczestniczy w zenitującym antypolskim widowisku. Ślepcy czy gracze politycznie?

Wiceprzewodniczący Kongresu Polonii Amerykańskiej, Kazimierz Lukomski, oświadcza, że Stany Zjednoczone „powinny złożyć deklarację ... iż Układy Jałtańskie „są nieobowiązujące". Wielką aktywność w dążeniu do ich unieważnienia podjął „Pomoc" – polsko-amerykańska organizacja polityczna stawiająca sobie dołąd dwa cele: „szukać jak największego poparcia dla «Solidarności» i „domagać się utrzymania sankcji"; obecnie dodatkowo trzeci – „żądać obalenia Jałty". Właśnie tak. „Obecnie jest to największa akcja, to jest domaganie się obalenia Jałty" – mówi przedstawiciel tow. „GA" Adam Kisznik, członek Rady Dyrektorów „Pomocu".

„Pomocowcy" zbierają więc „podpisy jako petycję, żeby obalić Jałtę", chcą je przedstawić w Kongresie USA i „kto wie – mówi Kisznik – czy nie dojdzie do głosowa-



U „Cegielskiego" duże uwagę zwraca się na przebieg adaptacji zawodowej młodych robotników. Chodzi o zapewnienie stabilizacji kadrowej tych zakładów.
Fot. CAF

PRON a reforma

Stwarzanie sprzyjającego klimatu

Czy zakładowe ogniwa PRON są w stanie wspierać realizację reformy gospodarczej?

Na warszawskim spotkaniu przedstawicieli tych ogniw padła odpowiedź twierdząca. Są w kraju liczne zakłady produkcyjne i usługowe, w których PRON odgrywa istotną rolę.

Dwa przykłady: W zakładach „Cegielskiego" w Poznaniu zwraca się dużą uwagę na przebieg adaptacji zawodowej młodych robotników. Ich start zawodowy ma duży wpływ na stabilizację załogi. „Jeśli kłos się zrazi, to jest źle poprowadzony – powiedział inż. Zbigniew Spychała – ten nie może dobrze się czuć i po kilku miesiącach odchodzi, szukając pracy gdzie indziej". Nie wiąże najlepiej z zakładem również hotele robotnicze. Postanowiono więc w „Cegielskim" przystąpić do budowy bloków z mieszkaniami rotacyjnymi dla młodych. Pierwszy z nich jest już na ukończeniu.

Przykład drugi – z Huty Katowice, w której działa 800-osobowe ogniwo PRON skupiające głównie robotników Kombinat zatrudnia 17158 pracowników, w tym 13760 fizycznych i 2398 umysłowych. Jest to niedobra struktura zatrudnienia. Chce się zwiększyć liczbę robotników do 15 100, a umysłowych zmniejszyć o prawie tysiąc. Zadanie nielatwe. A co tu może pomóc PRON? „Jesteśmy – mówiła Anna Brzezińska – za przeciwalifikowaniem ludzi za nie dobrych doświadczeń. Jest źle, że nie ma np. dotąd pełnego zrozumienia, iż wprowadzenie ceh bez uzasadnionych przyczyn w jednym zakładzie powoduje podobną tendencję w drugim – i negatywne skutki tego procesu rykoszetem odbijają się na wszystkich. Zrozumienie tych współzależności to również jeden ze sposobów wsparcia reformy. Mówiono o tym na warszawskim spotkaniu przedstawicieli ogniw PRON (bm)

Deklaracja „walecznych"

Patrzeć na ręce

W chwili kiedy w Polsce dokonuje się trudny proces narodowego porozumienia i czytelne są już efekty wysiłków mających na uwadze zahamowanie gospodarczego regresu, w Poznaniu ukazuje się podziemny biuletyn „konspiracyjnego związku zawodowego" pt. „Solidarność walcząca", stawiający sobie za cel w a l k ę. Cytujemy niektóre jego stwierdzenia nie tylko po to, by n-ty już raz same słowa podziemia świadczyły o jego awanturniczym obliczu, o tym w co mierzą podziemni aktywiści owego „związku", ale również dlatego, że są one dobrą ilustracją do tezy, że niezależnie od woli porozumienia ze wszystkimi porozumieć się nie można. Nierozdzielna formuła porozumienia i walki co i raz znajduje potwierdzenie swojej słuszności.

„Deklaracja" programowa poznańskich „walecznych" głosi, że walczą oni „o Polskę z szerokim wachlarzem partii politycznych (...) z gospodarką rynkową". Nie pada stwierdzenie – o Polskę kapitalistyczną, lecz to hasło – wiadzą – nie znalazłoby przecież szerszego poparcia, tak jednak czytać trzeba ich zawoalowany, tu i owdzie przyjrzyjmy nawet pseudodemokratyczną frazeologią, program.

„Doświadczenia ostatnich miesięcy – głoszą – nie pozostawiają nam wyboru. Musimy walczyć".

A doświadczenia ostatnich miesięcy to – przypomnijmy – również akt amnestii, to kolejne wyciągnięcie ręki ku tym, którzy wyraz stawiają dobro Polski nad własne, niekiedy nawet uzasadnione urazy, wielu – kierując się nadrzędnymi racjami – nie odrzuciło tej ręki. Brak wśród nich „walecznych" z Poznania.

„Musimy walczyć – stwierdzają. – I to nie tyle z tym rządem, co stałym systemem władzy". Zwróćmy uwagę na te słowa. Mimo lekkiego kamuflażu sprawa jest przecież czytelna – „stały system" i oczywiście socjalizm. „Program" znów nie stawia tego przejrzyście, lecz taka jest w istocie jego wymowa. Świadczą o tym również słowa poniższe.

„Nie wierzymy w możliwość porozumienia się z komunistami – tłoczą „waleczni". – Partnerem walczącej [...] klasy robotniczej

jeszcze tym w Zakładzie dyrekcja, opowiadając się za ich rewizją lub nawet unieważnieniem. Co to dla nas – Polaków – oznacza, jakkolwiek ujmiemy nieraz, również na łamach „Perspektyw" to próba zadania ciosu najżywotniejszym interesom Polski, jej bezpieczeństwu i gwarancjom...

Taka jest prawda, niezależnie od bełkotliwych deklaracji fałszowanych „przyjaciół" Polski – zwolenników rewizji układów. Zdumiewa i smuci, gdy dołączają do nich Polacy bądź osoby polskiego pochodzenia.

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To charakterystyczne – aktywnie wspomaga tę akcję jeden z najbardziej kunsztownych kongresmenów, Tom Corcoran ze stanu Illinois.

Na straży bezpieczeństwa Polski stoją sojusze zdolne we właściwy sposób przeciwstawić się ewentualnym próbom dowodzenia, iż pacta nieokreślone sunt servanda.

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Otóż to – stwarzanie klimatu. PRON, działając wraz z innymi siłami w zakładach, może i powinien bardziej się w to zaangażować. Potrzebne jest m.in. upowszechnianie wiedzy o reformie, lepsze zrozumienie jej mechanizmów i osobiste włączenie się w jej realizację pracowników, gdyż załamanie się reformy mogłoby spowodować skutki fatalne. Potrzebne jest rugowanie błędów i potknięć, upowszechnia-

(EXAMPLE 9)

Deklaracje „walecznych"

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„Deklaracja" programowa poznańskich „walecznych" głosi, że walczą oni „o Polskę z szerokim wachlarzem partii politycznych (...) z gospodarką rynkową". Nie pada stwierdzenie - o Polskę kapitalistyczną, to to hasło – wiedzą – nie znalazłoby przecież szerszego poparcia, tak jednak czytać trzeba ich zawoalowany, tu i owdzie przystojony nawet pseudodemokratyczną frazeologią, program.

„Doświadczenie ostatnich miesięcy – głoszą – nie pozostawiają nam wyboru. Musimy walczyć".

A doświadczenia ostatnich miesięcy to – przypomnijmy – również akt amnestii, to jeszcze wyciągnięcie ręki ku tym, którzy wyżej sławiają dobro Polski niż własne, niekiedy nawet uzasadnione urazy, wielu – kierując się nadrzędnym tactami – nie odruciło tej ręki. Brak wśród nich „walecznych" z Poznania.

„Musimy walczyć – stwierdzają. – I to nie tylko z tym rządem, co stałym systemem władzy". Zwróćmy uwagę na te słowa. Mimo lekkiego kamuflażu sprawa jest przecież czytelna – „stały system" i oczywiście socjalizm. „Program" znów nie sławia tego przejrzyście, lecz taka jest w istocie jego wymowa. Świadczą o tym również słowa poniższe.

„Nie wierzymy w możliwość porozumienia się z komunistami – tłoczą „walecznl". – Będziemy walczyć. (...) Nie chcemy porozumienia z władzą (...) chcemy tę władzę pozbawić władzy. (...) Stawiamy na ciągłą uporczywą walkę podziemną".

Nu cóż, jak się ten zamysł kreciej roboty na dowysiłków i władzy, i działaczy PRON i całego patriotycznie myślącego społeczeństwa podkreślać specjalnie nie trzeba. Jedni w swym zacietrzewieniu pragną udawać zdrajcę, inni kreta – porzytek z nich oczywiście żaden, szkoda póki co również niewielka, ale na ręce patrzeć im trzeba. Nie przecenić, lecz i nie lekceważyć.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you very much.

I have just a few questions. Either of you may wish to answer.

Is it fair to say that a large percentage of the most active Polish-American organizations in the United States suffer Soviet or Polish Government harassment?

Are there other American organizations, such as those composed of Soviet and Eastern bloc emigres, which are also targets of Soviet active measures?

Mr. KONTEK. There certainly are. Pretty much every group that would counter the Soviet or their proxy government view of the reality that they would like to present to the West would be the object of active measures.

Even the mainstream Polish-American Congress is subject to attacks. They have not been very politically involved with Solidarity, and have primarily conducted charitable activities. But that does not make them immune from attacks in the Polish press or attempts at manipulation.

Other groups similar to ours in other Eastern European ethnic communities do face similar problems.

Senator PRESSLER. You mentioned that some people had received phone calls warning them that their relatives are still in Eastern Europe. How do security officials from other Warsaw Pact governments attempt to intimidate groups or individuals in the United States? Would these phone calls have come from people in the embassies? Where would they have originated?

Mr. KONTEK. In the one area where we do have evidence in the sense of a U.S. agency bringing it to our attention, the individuals who were performing this activity were here on an exchange program at U.S. Government expense.

So this kind of harassment and misuse of guest status does go on, and I do specifically propose a remedial action in that regard.

Senator PRESSLER. What is the proposed remedial action?

Mr. KONTEK. A specific section of our immigration law says that a member of a Communist Party cannot be granted a visa to come to the United States unless they can show that their membership was involuntary to the satisfaction of the consular official. This law is being totally flouted by U.S. consular officials in Poland. People come here who are obvious spies, obvious agents, and do not even pretend to hide the fact that they are members of the Communist Party.

No one in Poland has to be a member of the Communist Party. It is strictly voluntary.

There are very few cases that I can think of where someone who is a member should be given the right to come to this country, and they are always given other tasks to do, people to keep an eye on. These people should not be let in.

Senator PRESSLER. Do they come here as tourists?

Mr. KONTEK. No. They come here at our expense, to NIH, to various other educational institutions, on USIA tours. We are paying for this.

Mr. KRYNSKI. Let me add that some of those people do not even have scholarly qualifications, even in terms of solid knowledge of Marx and Engels. They are just party hacks, who are scholars for the Central Committee of the Communist Party. They are an em-

barrassment to the American Marxist professors who invited them, because they do not know the theory.

So we are subsidizing hostile people, and to make things worse, even unintelligent, hostile people. At the same time we could use that money to give some dissident intellectuals some opportunity to study in this country and move away from the pressures of life in Poland.

Senator PRESSLER. We are paying to bring trained intelligence officers and active measures perpetrators into the United States?

Mr. KRYNSKI. That's right.

Senator PRESSLER. What can be done?

Mr. KONTEK. Adherence to that one point of law is something that can immediately be done.

I was just made aware of a conference being sponsored by EPA somewhere in Annapolis.

Senator PRESSLER. By whom?

Mr. KONTEK. By EPA, the Environmental Protection Agency, to talk about hazardous wastes. Listed on the advisory board for the conference is a prominent professor from the University of Wroclaw. His former assistant is a Solidarity refugee here. She told me that this guy is a hack, he knows nothing about chemical engineering and he is just coming here to spy and enjoy himself—at our expense.

This goes on time and time again.

Senator PRESSLER. Have you written a specific letter to the EPA, or to whomever is sponsoring it, pointing this out?

Mr. KONTEK. The agencies and universities, specifically universities, would be very displeased about any efforts to counter what they would call "intellectual freedom," because that is what they would consider it. Even among the Polish-American community, there is much resistance to doing anything to tighten up entry requirements for people who are opportunists in Poland and come here in alleged pursuit of scholarly exchange.

However, I do not think we should be in the business of paying Communist spies to come here and do their dirty work.

There is one final point I would like to make in this regard.

There is a flip side of this. A trip to the west in Poland is a very, very prized perk. Our radio broadcasts and our policies have been telling the people in Poland to hang tough and not collaborate with the Government as much as possible. And yet, here these people see that collaboration with the Government gives very specific benefits that are paid for by the United States. This does not make sense.

Senator PRESSLER. It certainly does not.

I am going to have to break this off here now. I am going to have to appear on the Senate floor in just a few minutes. You can each make a short closing statement.

I want to thank you. I think that what you have said is very dramatic and useful to this committee.

Mr. KRYNSKI. I want to throw out one more idea on the question of Polish refugees caught here by martial idea. Perhaps to relax the hold of the consulate on them—this is another reason why they should be given an automatic right of asylum. Some churches are working for the sanctuary movement for millions of economic refu-

gees from Central America. I think that if 5,000 or 10,000 Polish refugees from the Jaruzelski regime could be accommodated, it would be good also for the security of the United States.

I do believe that Polish Communists are succeeding in sowing some dissent among Polish-Americans, but I do not think they are not as successful as they are with other groups. I think they are a minor threat when it comes to Polish-Americans. I think they are a much more severe threat in regard to the peace movement.

Here I would like to make a suggestion in connection with the forthcoming summit meeting in Geneva and the arms talks. I find it incredible that we do not demand that the Soviets disband the WPC [the World Peace Council]. In 1943, when the Soviets needed us, at the height of the war, Stalin disbanded Comintern as a gesture of goodwill, which later reappeared as Cominform in 1947. But for 4 years, there was no subversive organization to destabilize the West.

Now, WPC and the peace movement play the role of the Comintern. I think, if they want to negotiate in goodwill, we should have demanded that. I feel that would have been one of the confidence-building measures we should have demanded of them.

Mr. KONTEK. Mr. Chairman, I will make two very quick points.

Once again, I would like to thank you for allowing us to speak before you.

Part of the reason that the Polish Government's disinformation campaign about Solidarity has been so successful is due to a tremendous void of political direction in that bureau of the State Department.

Senator PRESSLER. There has been a tremendous what?

Mr. KONTEK. A void. There is no strategic policy toward Poland.

In the last 3 of 4 years, the only policy that we have been able to see is the desire of certain State Department individuals to place a U.S. Ambassador there. I don't know if you recall, but about a year ago there was even a fiasco about it. They made a threat that if the Polish Government does not accept the Ambassador, things will "get hard."

There is no political leadership. There is no strategic plan for that area of the world. If there is this type of void, it leaves fertile ground for acceptance of these preposterous claims and views of the Polish Government.

The second thing is I would like to close on a prediction.

Since General Jaruzelski is going to be in New York between the 24th and 28th of this month, I predict that you will read some very nice articles in our press about the general in the coming weeks.

Senator PRESSLER. Why would that be?

Mr. KONTEK. Because they will be planted——

Senator PRESSLER. Planted in the U.S. press?

Mr. KONTEK [continuing]. In U.S. newspapers by persons who, either through laziness or whatever, find these articles to be reasonable, rational, and well thought out.

Senator PRESSLER. And they will appear in our leading newspapers? Wouldn't our press do research on these articles before they printed them, independent research?

Mr. KONTEK. Sure they will.

The thing is that these kinds of articles are not untrue. They are just extremely biased. The fact that our editors let them through without even trying to get a balance is really a crime.

Senator PRESSLER. Of course, now you are talking about an area wherein the Government cannot be at fault.

Mr. KONTEK. Yes, here it cannot do anything. But I just wanted to make that prediction.

Senator PRESSLER. All right. I hope that you and your organization will try to plant alternative thoughts into the minds of editors.

Mr. KONTEK. Hopefully we did that today.

Senator PRESSLER. OK. Good.

Mr. KRYNSKI. That prediction is based on hard facts. I want to remind you of the infamous interview of Barbara Walters with Jaruzelski 2 years ago, when she offered to improve his image. She told him that he should not wear dark glasses, should not wear the uniform so much. I can imagine her or somebody else interviewing Herr Hitler in the bunker during World War II, saying if, you just made your mustache like Adolphe Menjou and if you didn't shout so loudly, maybe your arguments would have a better reception in the United States.

National Public Ration, "All Things Considered," presented Jaruzelski 2 years ago as a patriot and noble Pole and said that Solidarity went too far.

This is the context that one has to expect. The very fact that Jaruzelski will give interviews to the media, that they will be vying with each other for who will get more time with him, will make it imperative for them to provide a forum for him, as they created the forum for the Shiite propaganda during the recent hijacking.

Senator PRESSLER. I hope they give you equal time. You can write letters to the editor, at least.

Mr. KONTEK. We already have.

Senator PRESSLER. Good.

Let me say that a lot of the questions I have asked have been "Devil's advocate" questions. I very much admire what you are doing. I welcome you here. I thank you very much for your efforts. It is a continuing effort to get the truth out, and this has been a very useful morning to me and to the committee. I believe that we have seen documented major Soviet efforts of disinformation and attempts to discredit the United States and the West. The United States and its allies certainly do not engage in this despicable effort, one which threatens to undermine the NATO alliance. Indeed, the Soviets are the only nation in the world that has used active measures to undermine other sovereign states. It must stop. They must be stopped.

I want to thank you very much for your participation this morning.

I apologize for having to leave, but I was due in another chamber 3 minutes ago.

Thank you very much.

Whereupon, at 12:49 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to call of the Chair.]

APPENDIX

U.S. Government Publications Distributed by Department of State and U.S. Information Agency Regarding Soviet Active Measures

Special
Report No. 88

Soviet "Active Measures"

Forgery, Disinformation, Political Operations

October 1981

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

The following paper was prepared by the Department of State in response to requests for information from a number of individuals, private groups, and foreign governments.

In late 1979, agents of the Soviet Union spread a false rumor that the United States was responsible for the seizure of the Grand Mosque of Mecca.

In 1980, a French journalist was convicted by a French court of law for acting as a Soviet agent of influence since 1959.

In August 1981, the Soviet news agency TASS alleged that the United States was behind the death of Panamanian leader Omar Torrijos.

These are three examples of a stream of Soviet "active measures" that seek to discredit and weaken the United States and other nations. The Soviets use the bland term "active measures" (*aktivnyye meropriyatiya*) to refer to operations intended to affect other nations' policies, as distinct from espionage and counterintelligence. Soviet "active measures" include:

- Written or spoken disinformation;
- Efforts to control media in foreign countries;
- Use of Communist parties and front organizations;
- Clandestine radio broadcasting;
- Blackmail, personal and economic; and
- Political influence operations.

None of this is to be mistaken for the open, accepted public diplomacy in which virtually all nations engage extensively. Public diplomacy includes providing press releases and other information to journalists, open public broadcasting, and a wide variety of official, academic, and cultural exchange programs. By contrast, Soviet "active measures" are frequently undertaken secretly, sometimes violate the laws of other nations, and often involve threats, blackmail, bribes, and exploitation of individuals and groups.

Soviet "active measures" do not always achieve Moscow's objectives. In some cases, Soviet operations have failed because of ineptitude or because targeted individuals or governments have responded effectively. However, Soviet "active measures" have had some success, and they remain a major, if little understood, element of Soviet foreign policy.

The approaches used by Moscow include control of the press in foreign countries; outright and partial forgery of documents; use of rumors, insinuation, altered facts, and lies; use of international and local front organizations; clandestine operation of radio stations; exploitation of a nation's academic, political, economic, and media figures as collaborators to influence policies of the nation.

Specific cases of Soviet "active measures" included here are: the Soviet anti-theater nuclear force (TNF) campaign in Europe; the Soviet anti-"neutron bomb" campaign; Soviet activities in support of the leftists in El Salvador; the Soviet campaign against the U.S.-Egypt relationship and the Camp David process.

"Active measures" are closely integrated with legitimate activities and Soviet foreign policy. Decisions on "active measures" in foreign countries are made at the highest level of authority in the U.S.S.R.—in the Politburo of the Communist Party Central Committee—as are all other important decisions of Soviet foreign policy.

The activities are designed and executed by a large and complex bureaucracy in which the KGB and the International Department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Central Committee are major elements. The International Information Department of the CPSU Central Committee is also deeply engaged in such activities. Actual operations abroad are carried out by official and quasi-official Soviet representatives, including scholars, students, and journalists, whose official Soviet links are not always apparent. The highly centralized structure of the Soviet state and the state's pervasive control and direction of all elements of society give Soviet leaders impressive free use of party, government, and private citizens in orchestrating "active measures."

The open societies of the industrial democracies and many developing nations, and the ease of access to their news media, often give Soviets open season for "active measures." Many Western and developing countries ignore or downplay Soviet "active measures" until Soviet blunders lead to well-publicized expulsions of diplomats, journalists, or others involved in these activities. The Soviets are adept at making their policies appear to be compatible or parallel with the interests of peace, environmental, and other groups active in Western and developing societies.

By contrast, the Soviet Union denies access to its mass media for foreigners who might criticize Soviet society or the foreign policies of the U.S.S.R.

While the United States remains the primary target, Moscow is devoting increasing resources to "active measures" against the governments of other industrialized countries and countries in the developing world. Moscow seeks to disrupt relations between states, discredit opponents of the U.S.S.R., and undermine foreign leaders, institutions, and values. Soviet tactics adjust to changes in international situations but continue, and in some cases intensify, during periods of reduced tensions.

"Active Measures" Techniques

The tactics and emphasis of Soviet "active measures" change to meet changed situations. For instance, Soviet use of Marxist-Leninist ideology to appeal to foreign groups often turns out to be an obstacle to the promotion of Soviet goals in some areas; it is now being deem-

phasized though not completely abandoned. At the same time, some religious themes—notably the Soviet assertion that the Islamic religion occupies a favorable position in the U.S.S.R.—have assumed greater significance, as Moscow courts Islamic countries in Africa and the Middle East.

Similarly, while Soviet-dominated international front groups still are important in Soviet "active measures" abroad, Moscow is broadening its base of support by using more single-interest groups and fronts formed for particular purposes to promote its goals.

Soviet "active measures" involve a mix of ingenious and crude techniques. A brief sample of types of activities includes the following.

Efforts to Manipulate the Press in Foreign Countries. Soviet agents frequently insert falsely attributed press material into the media of foreign countries. In one developing country, Soviets used more than two dozen local journalists to plant media items favorable to the U.S.S.R. Soviets have also used the Indian news weekly *Blitz* to publish forgeries, falsely accuse Americans of being CIA personnel or agents, and disseminate Soviet-inspired documents. In another country, the Soviets used local journalists to exercise substantial control over the contents of two major daily newspapers.

Forgeries. Soviet forgeries—completely fabricated or altered versions of actual documents—are produced and circulated to mislead foreign governments, media, and public opinion. Recent Soviet forgeries are better and appear more frequently than in the past. Among forgeries that Soviet agents have produced and distributed are bogus U.S. military manuals and fabricated war plans designed to create tensions between the United States and other countries. In some cases, the Soviets used actual documents passed to the KGB by U.S. Army Sergeant Robert Lee Johnson (who was eventually arrested and convicted as a Soviet agent) as models for style and format in Soviet forgeries. In one case, Soviet agents, seeking to disrupt NATO theater nuclear force modernization, circulated a forged "top secret" letter from Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to another Western foreign minister.

Disinformation. Soviet agents use rumor, insinuation, and distortion of facts to discredit foreign governments and leaders. In late 1979, Soviet agents spread a false rumor that the United States was behind the seizure of the Grand Mosque of Mecca. In another case, Soviet officials "warned" officials of a West European country that the CIA had increased its activities in the country and that a coup was being planned. Sometimes these disinformation campaigns appear in foreign media suborned by the Soviets, enabling Moscow to cite foreign sources for some of the distortions and misstatements that often appear in the Soviet media. A recent and particularly egregious example was the August 1981 TASS allegation that the United States was behind the death of Panamanian General Omar Torrijos.

Control of International and Local Front Organizations. Moscow controls pro-Soviet international front organizations through the International Organizations Section of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee. Front organizations are more effective than openly pro-Soviet groups because they can attract members from a broad political spectrum. Prominent among these fronts are the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and the Women's International Democratic Federation. Moscow's agents use Soviet "friendship" and cultural societies in many countries to contact people who would not participate in avowedly pro-Soviet or Communist organizations. The function of front, "friendship," and cultural groups is to support Soviet goals and to oppose policies and leaders whose activities do not serve Soviet interests.

To complement organizations known for pro-Soviet bias, the Soviets sometimes help establish and fund ad hoc front groups that do not have histories of close association with the Soviet Union and can attract members from a wide political spectrum.

Clandestine Radio Stations. The Soviet Union operates two clandestine radio stations: the National Voice of Iran (NVOI) and Radio Ba Yi, which broadcast regularly from the Soviet Union to Iran and China. Moscow has never publicly acknowledged that it sponsors the stations, which represent themselves as organs of authentic local "progressive" forces. The broadcasts of both of these Soviet stations illustrate the use of "active measures" in support of Soviet foreign policy goals. For instance, NVOI broadcasts to Iran in 1979–80 consistently urged that the American diplomatic hostages not be released, while Soviet official statements supported the hostages' claim to diplomatic immunity.

Economic Manipulation. The Soviet Union also uses a variety of covert economic maneuvers in "active measures" operations. For example, a Soviet ambassador in a West European country warned a local businessman that his sales to the U.S.S.R. would suffer if he went ahead with plans to provide technical assistance to China. In another industrialized country, Soviet agents sought to increase local concern over the stability of the dollar by driving up the price of gold. This was to be accomplished by manipulating a flow of both true and false information to local businessmen and government leaders. The gambit failed because the Soviet officials who attempted to carry it out did not fully understand the financial aspects of the operation.

Political Influence Operations. Political influence operations are the most important but least understood aspect of Soviet "active measures" activities. These operations seek to exploit contacts with political, economic, and media figures in target countries to secure active collaboration with Moscow. In return for this collaboration, Soviet officials offer inducements tailored to the specific requirements or vulnerabilities of the individual involved. In 1980, Pierre-Charles Pathe, a French journalist, was convicted for active as a Soviet agent of influence since 1969. His articles—all subtly pushing the Soviet line on a wide range of international issues—were published in a number of important newspapers and journals, sometimes under the pseudonym of Charles Morand. The journalist also published a private newsletter which was regularly sent to many newspapers, members of parliament, and a number of foreign embassies. The Soviets used Pathe over a number of years to try to influence the attitudes of the prominent subscribers to his newsletter and to exploit his broad personal contacts.

In other cases, Soviet officials establish close relationships with political figures in foreign countries and seek to use these contacts in "active measures" operations. Capitalizing on the host government official's ambition, his Soviet contact claims to be a private channel to the Soviet leadership. To play upon his sense of self-importance and to enhance his credibility within his own government, the host government official may be invited to meetings with high-level Soviet leaders. The Soviets then exploit the local official to pass a mixture of true, distorted, and false information—all calculated to serve Soviet objectives—to the host government.

Use of Academicians and Journalists. Soviet academicians, who often are accepted abroad as legitimate counterparts of their non-Soviet colleagues, frequently engage in "active measures." Unlike their free world counterparts,

ŻOŁNIERZ WOLNOŚCI

Kto i dlaczego jest przeciwko Jałcie?

Antysocjalistyczna i antypolska „koalicja"

HENRYK KAWKA

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(EXAMPLE 10)

they must play two roles—their legitimate academic pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and their political activities on behalf of the Kremlin. Soviet academicians are obliged to obey instructions from bodies which plan and control Soviet "active measures" activities. Similarly, Soviet journalists often engage in "active measures" operations in addition to serving as representatives of Soviet news agencies. One KGB officer in an industrialized country used his journalistic cover to pass forgeries, as well as to publish numerous propaganda articles aimed at influencing the media of the host country.

Case Studies

The Soviet Anti-TNF Modernization Campaign in Europe. The Soviet campaign in Europe against NATO TNF modernization is a good illustration of Soviet use of "active measures." After a long and unprecedented buildup of Soviet military strength in Europe, including the deployment of new SS-20 nuclear missiles targeted on Western Europe, the NATO ministers in December 1979 decided to modernize NATO's TNF capabilities. The Soviets immediately began an ongoing, intensive campaign to develop an environment of public opinion opposed to the NATO decision. (Of course, not all opposition to the TNF modernization decision is inspired by the Soviet Union or its "active measures" activities.)

In this campaign, Soviet diplomats in European countries pressured their host governments in many ways. In one European country, the Soviet ambassador met privately with the Minister of Commerce to discuss the supply and price of oil sold by the Soviet Union to that country. During the discussion, the ambassador gave the minister a copy of Leonid Brezhnev's Berlin speech dealing with TNF. He suggested that if the host government would oppose TNF modernization, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs might persuade the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade to grant more favorable oil prices.

Moscow has spurred many front groups to oppose the TNF decision through well-publicized conferences and public demonstrations. To broaden the base of the anti-TNF campaign, front groups have lobbied non-Communist participants, including antinuclear groups, pacifists, environmentalists, and others. In some cases, the activities of these broad front groups have been directed by local Communist parties. Soviets have predictably devoted the greatest resources to these activities in NATO countries where opposition to the TNF modernization decision is strongest.

In the Netherlands, for example, the Communist Party of the Netherlands (CPN) has set up its own front group—Dutch Christians for Socialism. In November 1980, the Dutch "Joint Committee—Stop the Neutron Bomb—Stop the Nuclear Armament Race," which has ties to the CPN, sponsored an international forum against nuclear arms in Amsterdam. The forum succeeded in attracting support from a variety of quarters, which the CPN is exploiting in its campaign to prevent final parliamentary approval of the TNF decision.

The Soviet Campaign Against Enhanced Radiation Weapons (ERW). The Soviets, throughout 1977 and early 1978, carried out one of their largest, most expensive, and best orchestrated "active measures" campaigns against enhanced radiation (neutron) weapons. (Again, not all opposition to the U.S. decision to produce the enhanced radiation weapon is Soviet inspired.)

This Soviet campaign has had two objectives: first, to halt deployment of ERW by NATO; second, to divide NATO, encourage criticism of the United States, and divert Western attention from the growing Soviet military buildup and its threat to Western Europe and the world.

- Phase one occurred throughout the summer of 1977. The Soviets staged an intense propaganda blitz against ERW and the United States, involving numerous demonstrations and protests by various "peace councils" and other groups. This phase culminated in a Soviet-proclaimed international "Week of Action."
- Phase two began in January 1978 with Soviet propaganda exploitation of a letter from Leonid Brezhnev to Western heads of government warning that production and deployment of ERW constituted a serious threat to detente. A barrage of similar letters from members of the Supreme Soviet went to Western parliamentarians. Soviet trade union officials forwarded parallel messages to Western labor counterparts.
- Phase three came in early 1978 with a series of Soviet-planned conferences, under different names and covers, designed to build up the momentum of anti-ERW pressure for the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament of May-June 1978. These meetings and conferences, held throughout February and March, were organized either by the World Peace Council or jointly sponsored with established and recognized independent international groups.

The Soviet campaign succeeded in complicating allied defense planning and focusing criticism on the United States. A top Hungarian Communist Party official wrote that "the political campaign against the neutron bomb was one of the most significant and successful since World War Two." The propaganda campaign did not end in 1978; it was incorporated into the anti-TNF effort. With the recent U.S. decision to proceed with ERW production, the Soviets have begun a new barrage of propaganda and related "active measures."

Soviet "Active Measures" Toward El Salvador. Complementing their overt public support for the leftist insurgency in El Salvador, the Soviets have also engaged in a global "active measures" campaign to sway public opinion. These activities include a broad range of standard techniques, including forgeries, disinformation, attempted manipulation of the press, and use of front groups. The obvious dual purpose has been to increase support for the insurgency while trying to discredit U.S. efforts to assist the Government of El Salvador.

In 1980, Salvadoran leftists met in Havana and formed the United Revolutionary Directorate (DRU), the central political and military planning organization for the insurgents. During the same period, the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) was established, with Soviet and Cuban support, to represent the leftist insurgency abroad. The FDR and DRU work closely with Cubans and Soviets, but their collaboration is often covert.

The FDR also supported the establishment of Salvadoran solidarity committees in Western Europe, Latin America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. These solidarity committees have disseminated propaganda and organized meetings and demonstrations in support of the insurgents. Such committees, in cooperation with local Communist parties and leftist groups, organized some 70 demonstrations and protests between mid-January and mid-March 1981 in Western Europe, Latin America, Australia, and New Zealand.

The FDR and DRU are careful to conceal the Soviet and Cuban hand in planning and supporting their activities and seek to pass themselves off as a fully independent, indigenous Salvadoran movement. These organizations have had some success in influencing public opinion throughout Latin America and in Western Europe. The effort of the insurgents to gain legitimacy has been buttressed by intense diplomatic activity on their behalf. For example, at the February 1981 nonaligned movement meeting in New Delhi, a 30-man Cuban contingent, cooperating closely with six Soviet diplomats, pressed the conference to condemn U.S. policy in El Salvador.

At another level, the Soviet media have published numerous distortions to erode support for U.S. policy. For example, an article in the December 30, 1980 *Pravda* falsely stated that U.S. military advisers in El Salvador were involved in punitive actions against noncombatants, including use of napalm and herbicides. In another particularly outrageous distortion, a January 1, 1981 article in the Soviet weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* falsely stated that the United States was preparing to implement the so-called centaur plan for "elimination" of thousands of Salvadorans.

Campaign Against the U.S.-Egyptian Relationship and the Camp David Process. In the Middle East, Moscow has waged an "active measures" campaign to weaken the U.S.-Egyptian relationship, undermine the Camp David peace process, and generally exacerbate tensions. A special feature of Middle East "active measures" activities has been the use of forgeries, including:

- A purported speech by a member of the U.S. Administration which insulted Egyptians and called for "a total change of the government and the governmental system in Egypt." This forgery, which surfaced in 1976, was the first of a series of bogus documents produced by the Soviets to complicate U.S.-Egyptian relations.
- A forged document, allegedly prepared by the Secretary of State, or one of his close associates, for the President, which used language insulting and offensive to President Sadat and other Egyptians and also to other Arab leaders, including King Khalid of Saudi Arabia. This forgery was delivered anonymously to the Egyptian Embassy in Rome in April 1977.
- A series of forged letters and U.S. Government documents, which criticized Sadat's "lack of leadership" and called for a "change of government" in Egypt. These forgeries surfaced in various locations during 1977.
- A forged dispatch, allegedly prepared by the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, which suggested that the United States had acquiesced in plans by Iran and Saudi Arabia to overthrow Sadat. This forgery was sent by mail to the Egyptian Embassy in Belgrade in August 1977.
- A forged CIA report which criticized Islamic groups as a barrier to U.S. goals in the Middle East and suggested tactics to suppress, divide, and eliminate these groups. This forgery surfaced in the January 1979 issue of the Cairo-based magazine *Al-Dawa*.
- A forged letter from U.S. Ambassador to Egypt Herman F. Eilts, which declared that, because Sadat was not prepared to serve U.S. interests, "we must repudiate him and get rid of him without hesitation." This forgery surfaces in the October 1, 1979 issue of the Syrian newspaper *Al-Ba'th*.

Conclusion

The Soviet Union continues to make extensive use of "active measures" to achieve its foreign policy objectives, to frustrate those of other countries, and to undermine leadership in many nations. On the basis of the historical record, there is every reason to believe that the Soviet leadership will continue to make heavy investments of money and manpower in meddlesome and disruptive operations around the world.

While Soviet "active measures" can be exposed, as they have often been in the past, the Soviets are becoming more sophisticated, especially in forgeries and political influence operations. Unless the targets of Soviet "active measures" take effective action to counter them, these activities will continue to trouble both industrialized and developing countries. ■

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Special
Report No. 101

Soviet Active Measures: An Update

July 1982

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

This report describes Soviet "active measures" which have come to light since the publication of Special Report No. 88, "Soviet Active Measures: Forgery, Disinformation, Political Operations," in October 1981.

The Soviet Union uses the term "active measures" (*aktivnyye meropriyatiya*) to cover a broad range of activities designed to promote Soviet foreign policy goals, including undercutting opponents of the U.S.S.R. Active measures include disinformation, manipulating the media in foreign countries, the use of Communist parties and Communist front groups, and operations to expand Soviet political influence. In contrast to public diplomacy, which all nations practice, Soviet active measures often involve deception and are frequently implemented by clandestine means. Active measures are carried out not only by the KGB but also by the International Department and the International Information Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The active measures discussed in this report are necessarily limited to those that have been publicly exposed. They make clear that these activities take place worldwide. The open societies of many industrialized and developing countries afford the Soviets opportunities to use active measures to influence opinions in favor of Soviet policies and against those of the United States and its allies. It is our hope that this report will increase public awareness and understanding of Soviet active measures and thereby reduce the likelihood that people will be deceived.

Forgeries

Forgeries are a frequently used active measures technique. Several have come to light in recent months. Their appearance has been timed to influence Western opinion on current sensitive issues. As far as we are aware, only one of these recent forgeries achieved uncritical publication.

Forgeries are usually sent through the mail to journalists, officials, or other persons who might make them available to the media. Forgeries normally do not carry a return address, nor is the sender identified in a way that can be checked. How the document was acquired invariably is vague.

The NATO Information Service Documents. In late October 1981, Spanish journalists living in Brussels received form letters purporting to come from the NATO Information Service. The letters enclosed a publicity packet that had been updated to include Spain as a new member of the alliance. As the Spanish Parliament was still debating Spain's application to join NATO, the letter could impress Spaniards as showing contempt for Spain's democratic institutions. The journalists checked with NATO, and stories in the Spanish press spoke of a forgery designed to influence Spain's domestic debate on NATO.

The President Reagan Letter to the King of Spain. In November 1981, an attempt was made in Madrid to surface a forged letter from President Reagan to the King of Spain. In terms likely to offend Spanish sensitivities, the letter urged the King to join NATO and to crack down on groups such as the "OPUS DEI pacifists" and the "left-wing opposition."

After an initial mailing to Spanish journalists failed to obtain publication, the forgery was circulated on November 11 to all delegations (except the U.S. and Spanish) to the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), then meeting in Madrid. This time several Madrid newspapers ran stories that exposed the letter as a fabrication probably of Soviet origin.

The Clark-Stearns Letter. In January 1982, a forged letter and an accompanying research analysis dated September 23, 1981, from Judge William Clark, then Deputy Secretary of State, to the U.S. Ambassador to Greece, Monteagle Stearns, circulated in Athens. This forgery indicated U.S. support for the conservatives in the October Greek elections and alluded to a possible military coup if Socialist leader Andreas Papandreou won at the polls. On the basis of Embassy assurances that the letter was a fake, it was not initially published. Several weeks later, after copies had been circulated at the CSCE in Madrid, the Athens daily *Vradhini* published a story describing the letter as of doubtful authenticity and probably attributable to a "third-country" intelligence service.

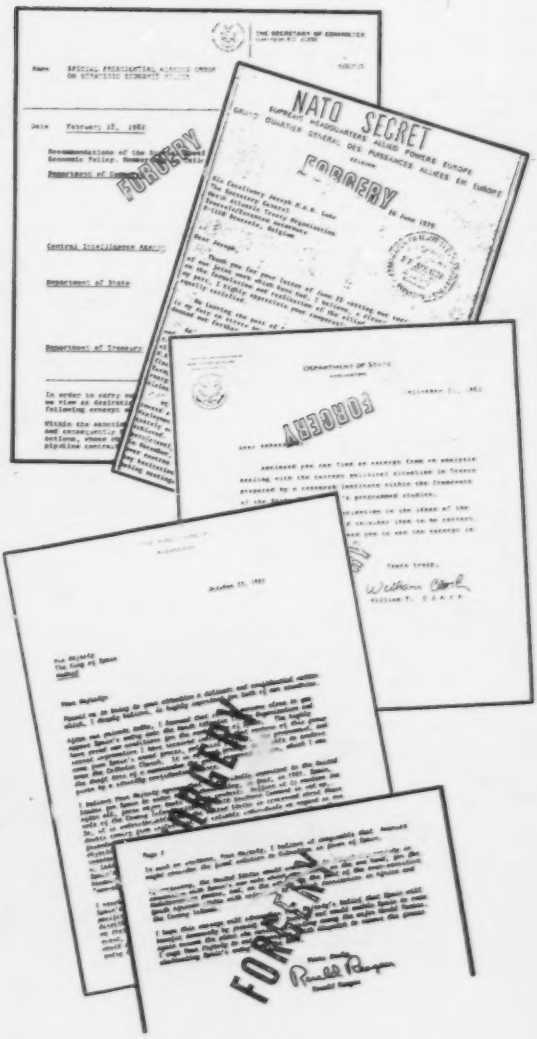
The Swedish Mailgrams. During the week of November 8, 1981, at least 10 mailgrams—initiated by telephone calls to Western Union—were circulated to journalists in the Washington, D.C. area. Supposedly sent by U.S. Government officials, the mailgrams offered to make available the text of an alleged secret agreement for U.S. use of the Swedish base at Karlskrona for intelligence purposes.

The mailgrams were sent immediately after the furor caused by the grounding of a Soviet submarine in restricted waters off the Karlskrona naval base. Their timing supports the conclusion that the effort was an attempt to offset the bad publicity the Soviets received from the incident.

The Haig-Luns Letter. The April 22, 1982 edition of the Belgian leftist weekly *De Nieuwe* published a letter supposedly sent in June 1979 by retiring NATO Commander Alexander Haig to NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns. Both NATO and U.S. officials branded the letter a fabrication.

The forged letter discussed a possible nuclear first strike and called for "action of a sensitive nature" to "jolt the faint hearted in Europe" opposed to intermediate-range nuclear force modernization. The timing of the false letter was related to the many antinuclear demonstrations which took place in Europe in the spring of 1982. The letter appeared again in the Luxembourg Communist Party newspaper, *Zeitung*, on May 10.

The Department of Commerce Document. In late May 1982, just before the Versailles economic summit, an alleged U.S. Government document dated February 18, 1982 circulated in Brussels. Purporting to be the recommendations of a working group on strategic economic policy chaired by the Secretary of Commerce, the document twisted U.S. policy on sensitive trade issues in a way likely to stimulate friction between the United States and its European allies. Several journalists brought the matter to the attention of U.S. officials, who promptly branded it a forgery. As far as we are aware, the media have not reported the fabricated document.



Media Manipulation/Disinformation

The purpose of disinformation efforts is to gain public acceptance for something that is not true. Since Soviet media lack credibility, the goal is to achieve publication of false news in reputable non-Communist media. Soviet media, such as TASS or Radio Moscow, are then able to cite credible sources in replaying a story in the hope that it will be picked up by other non-Communist media. Disinformation also is frequently placed in pro-Soviet news outlets outside the Eastern bloc in the hope that it will be replayed by independent media or simply gain acceptance through repetition.

Angola/Zaire/South Africa. One Soviet campaign has been to discredit U.S. policy in southern Africa—in particular, the credibility of U.S. efforts to solve the Namibia problem—by media stories that the United States is trying to oust the Government of Angola. A number of recent examples illustrate this effort.

- On September 15 and 23–24, 1981, the *Portugal Hoje* of Lisbon, a paper close to the Socialist Party, published reports that U.S., Zairian, and South African representatives had met secretly to conspire against the Angolan regime. The source for the story, an Angolan traveling to Lisbon, claimed he had stolen Zairian documents as proof, but he never made the documents available. Both Zaire and the United States denied the allegations. TASS promptly picked up the *Hoje* story, and in turn it was replayed in a number of African papers, including the *Jornal de Angola*.
- On December 22, 1981, *Diario de Lisboa*, a pro-Communist paper, reported that the United States was supporting "2,000 specially trained gunmen" based in Zaire to attack Angola. The State Department denied the story December 24, but TASS nonetheless picked it up. In turn, a number of African papers and radio stations and the Flemish Socialist daily *De Morgen* replayed the allegations on the basis of the TASS account.
- A similar story was carried in the April 17, 1982 Congolese newspaper *Etumba*, which alleged a meeting in 1981 between the United States, South Africa, and others to plot against Angola. The U.S. Embassy in Brazzaville promptly denied the report.

The Seychelles Coup Attempt. A day after the November 25, 1981 attempt by a group of mercenaries to overthrow the Government of the Seychelles, Soviet news reports were implying that the CIA was responsible. In keeping with frequent Soviet practice, these accusations were attributed to unnamed, and therefore unverifiable, "African radio commentaries." Despite a statement by Seychelles President France Albert René on December 2 that his government had no indication of any foreign involvement other than South African, Soviet media continued to accuse the United States. In December, several African newspapers (among them the *Nairobi Nation* and *Lagos Daily Times*, the leading dailies in Kenya and Nigeria, respectively) repeated the story. Soviet media then replayed the allegations, citing the African papers as sources.

The Pakistani Mosquitoes. In the wake of compelling evidence that the Soviets are using chemical weapons in Afghanistan and supplying mycotoxins for use in Laos and Kampuchea, Moscow has launched a disinformation effort focused on Pakistan. The February 2, 1982 *Literaturnaya Gazeta* alleged that the antimalaria program of the Pakistan Malaria Research Center in Lahore was a CIA-financed effort to breed special mosquitoes "which infect their victims with deadly viruses as part of U.S. plans to introduce biological warfare into Afghanistan." In fact, the Pakistan Malaria Research Center has been conducting antimalaria research for 20 years. Much of the funding comes from the U.S. National Institutes of Health and AID through a contract with the University of Maryland. The State Department promptly labeled the Soviet charges "utterly baseless."

The American Center Director Dr. David Nalin told the *Baltimore Sun* on February 9, 1982 that the allegations were a Soviet disinformation effort to counter U.S. "yellow rain" charges. Nonetheless, TASS continued to carry the false stories, which were replayed not only by regular disinformation outlets, such as Bombay's *Blitz* and the New Delhi *Patriot*, but also by independent newspapers not usually associated with Soviet propaganda, such as the influential *Times of India* and Pakistani daily *Jang*, and the *Muslim News* of Capetown, South Africa.

A Moscow-funded Greek Newspaper? Another way to exert media influence is by secretly subsidizing a newspaper. This may have occurred recently in Greece. In May 1982, the Athens daily *Messimvrini* charged that a new large circulation daily, *To Ethnos*, had begun publication in September 1981 thanks to a secret Soviet subsidy of $1.8 million; *Messimvrini* alleged that covert payments were continuing. The Greek Government has ordered an investigation.

Military Base Hoaxes. A disinformation staple is to float false stories about U.S. military cooperation. Recent examples from Soviet and Communist media have included false stories that the United States has or intends to establish bases on the Honduran island of Amapala, the Colombian island of San Andres, and in the Comoros Islands off the east coast of Africa. Although these have not gained credence, one relating to Pakistan attracted more attention. As a result, the Pakistan Foreign Ministry on December 10, 1981 found it necessary to deny Radio Moscow's assertion that the United States would seek military bases in Pakistan during a visit by Secretary of State Haig. Among other things, the Radio Moscow account falsely asserted that Indian Foreign Minister Rao had claimed in the Indian Parliament that Pakistan had agreed to provide bases for the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force.

Front Groups/Pro-Moscow Communist Parties

Front groups are nominally independent organizations that are controlled by the Soviets, usually through the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU.[1] These organizations have long sought to build support for Soviet foreign policy goals. In recent months the main thrust of front activity has been to try to see that the peace movement in Western Europe and the United States is directed solely against U.S. policy and that it avoids any criticism of the Soviet nuclear threat. The 1982 program of the World Peace Council, for example, calls for:

- "Further intensification of actions against the dangers of nuclear war and the deployment of new U.S. weapons of mass destruction in Western Europe. . . ."
- "National events (demonstrations, seminars, colloquia, etc.) with international participation 'against nuclear arms build-up and the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe; for peace and detente in Europe.' "
- "International meeting of mayors and elected representatives (city councillors, muncipalities, etc.) and of peace forces from European towns and regions where new U.S. nuclear missiles are to be deployed. . . ."[2]

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[1] See Foreign Affairs Note, *The World Peace Council, Instrument of Soviet Foreign Policy*, Department of State, April 1982. Other well-known international fronts are the International Institute for Peace (IIP), The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the International Union of Students (IUS), the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), the World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW), the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ), the Christian Peace Conference (CPC), the International Federation of Resistance Fighters (FIR), and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

[2] *World Peace Council: Programme of Action 1982* published by the Information Center of the WPC, Helsinki.

Communist parties linked with Moscow have pursued the same path. The impact of the fronts and local Communist groups varies markedly from country to country and is difficult to evaluate. Nevertheless, awareness is increasing that the Communists and their supporters are attempting to channel the peace and antinuclear movements to serve Moscow's purpose. This has led to friction within the movement in some countries.

In West Germany, after efforts by the German Communist Party (DKP) in early April 1982 produced anti-U.S. slogans without mentioning the Soviet nuclear arsenal as a threat to peace, Petra Kelly, a prominent leader of the Environment Party (the "Greens") publicly criticized the Communists. She repeated this criticism when interviewed on CBS Television during President Reagan's visit to Bonn. Similarly, in Austria, the original platform adopted by the organizers of a peace march on May 15 under pressure from pro-Moscow Communists avoided criticism of Soviet atomic weapons. The non-Communists later regrouped; as a result, the Austrian Youth Council issued a less one-sided platform.

Political Influence Operations

Political influence operations, especially those using agents of influence, are harder to detect than other active measures. In these operations, individuals disguise their KGB connection while taking an active role in public affairs. Exposure, when it occurs, is frequently the result of an espionage investigation. The scale of improper Soviet activities is reflected in the publicized expulsion of 19 Soviet officials involved in espionage and active measures cases from 10 countries during the first 5 months of 1982. Among these were the expulsion of the Soviet military attache from Washington and the uncovering of spy nets in Indonesia and Singapore.

Denmark. In October 1981, the Danish Government expelled Vladimir Merkulov, a KGB officer serving as a second secretary of the Soviet Embassy, for improper conduct, including directing the activities of Danish agent-of-influence Arne Herloev Petersen. An April 17, 1982 Danish Ministry of Justice statement detailed Petersen's work with the KGB.

- In the summer of 1981, the Soviets arranged to cover Petersen's expenses for a series of advertisements in which Danish artists expressed support for a Nordic nuclear-weapons-free zone.
- Petersen brought foreign policy documents provided by the Soviet Embassy to the North Korean Embassy; on Soviet instructions he misrepresented the documents as coming from an American journalist.
- Petersen provided information several times to the Soviet Embassy on the Danish "left wing" and on "progressive" journalists who were not Communist Party members.
- Petersen arranged for the printing of a pamphlet attacking British Prime Minister Thatcher. The text was supplied by the Soviet Embassy.

The Ministry of Justice noted that clandestine meetings between Petersen and a succession of three Soviet "diplomats" (of whom Merkulov was the latest) had extended over several years. Petersen specifically was requested by his KGB handlers not to join the Danish Communist Party.

The Danish Government decided not to prosecute Petersen, although it declared that he violated Danish law. In a television interview 2 days after the official statement, the Danish Foreign Minister challenged Petersen to sue for slander so that the full extent of the government's evidence could be made public.

Sweden. Soviet Third Secretary Albert Liepa was expelled in April 1982. According to a Swedish Foreign Ministry spokesman, Liepa had made systematic efforts to collect information on and exert influence over the Latvian exile community in Sweden. Before his assignment to Stockholm, Liepa had been chairman of a committee based in Riga concerned with maintaining "cultural ties" with Latvians living outside the Soviet Union. ■

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Foreign Affairs Note

United States Department of State
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MOSCOW'S RADIO PEACE AND PROGRESS

August 1982

Radio Peace and Progress (RPP) plays a special role in the U.S.S.R.'s foreign propaganda operations. As the purported voice of Soviet "public opinion," it is targeted primarily at mass audiences in the Third World. In line with this programing concept, its broadcasts are characteristically more outspoken and less sophisticated than those of the official Radio Moscow. The carefully maintained distinction between RPP and official broadcasts allows for the transmission of material which the Soviet Government and Communist Party might wish to disclaim responsibility.

RPP now broadcasts a total of 161 hours weekly in 15 languages and dialects. It uses, as it has since its first broadcast in 1964, the same facilities as Radio Moscow. The "public" (as opposed to government or party) organizations which sponsor RPP broadcasts include the Union of Journalists of the U.S.S.R., Novosti news agency, the Union of Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, the Writer's Union of the U.S.S.R., the Union of Composers of the U.S.S.R., the Znaniye Society (a lecture and public information organization), the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the Committee of U.S.S.R. Youth Organizations, and the Soviet Women's Committee. Announcements which precede RPP broadcasts explain that it "aims at cooperating in the development and strengthening of mutual understanding, trust, and friendship."

While RPP's coverage accurately reflects Soviet policy, it is occasionally used to air unique material that does not appear in any form in official Soviet media. In one such case, an RPP Spanish-language broadcast in January 1981 attributed to a Salvadoran insurgent the view that the situation in El Salvador might deteriorate to the point that Cuba would consider military intervention in support of the guerrillas there. Official Soviet media have not been heard to suggest such a Cuban role. Similarly, RPP has vehemently attacked "reactionary leaders in Iraq" for "fabricated" accusations against Iraqi Communists. Official Soviet media, however, have been scrupulously correct in their treatment of the Iraqi regime.

RPP's program material, above all, is designed to reinforce trends in public opinion that serve Soviet foreign policy interests. For example, RPP Hebrew-language broadcasts are intended to strengthen opposition elements in Israel (including the Israeli Communist Party) and exploit divisions in Israeli public opinion on controversial foreign and domestic issues. In contrast, but in line with the same objective, RPP Spanish-language broadcasts to Latin America are highly inflammatory and designed to exacerbate suspicions and traditional tensions between the United States and its southern neighbors. A sample of recent, regionally specialized RPP themes is given below:

In Arabic to the Arab World

- The United States colludes with Israel to dominate the Middle East.
- The sale of AWACS aircraft allows the United States to control the Saudi Arabian Government.
- U.S. leaders consider Arabs to be incapable of grasping the real intentions of American policy.
- Saudi dealings with the United States serve U.S. and Israeli designs against Arabs.
- Moscow is the true ally of the Arab cause.
- Communism is a friend of Islam.

In Hebrew to Israel

- The Israeli Government is a hostage to U.S. policy, and Prime Minister Begin has no concern for Israeli interests.
- The United States is an unreliable ally since it arms Arabs as well as Israelis.
- Continuing tension between Israelis and Arabs serves U.S. interests, and the CIA is encouraging criminal acts to aggravate mutual enmity.

In English to Asia

- America infiltrates mercenaries into Afghanistan. (Soviet troops there are rarely, if ever, mentioned by RPP.)
- The U.S. Embassy in India is smuggling Afghans out of Afghanistan to attend special spy and sabotage schools in the United States to learn, among other things, how to poison wells.
- The CIA is financing a separatist movement in the Punjab.
- Pakistan, with U.S. and Chinese help, is a nuclear threat to its neighbors.
- The United States and China have agreed to an aggressive military alliance to threaten Asia.

In Spanish to Latin America

- The CIA has assassinated well-known Latin American politicians such as Presidents Torrijos of Panama, Roldes of Ecuador, and others.
- The United States is conducting chemical and biological warfare in a program of mass extermination.

• Salvadoran children are kidnaped for terrorist training at "CIA centers" and to be used as guinea pigs.

• U.S. multinational companies such as Coca-Cola employ "hoodlums" to repress and murder local workers.

• U.S. military advisers torture Salvadoran rebels and train Latin Americans in torture techniques.

The excerpts from broadcasts collected in the Annex are chosen to illustrate RPP's treatment of the above propaganda themes. While taken from only 4 of RPP's 15 language services, they convey a tone and level of blatancy which is typical of RPP's entire range of programing.

ANNEX

Quotations From Radio Peace and Progress

Arabic to the Arab World

". . . on recent occasions some reactionary leaders in Iraq have tried in their speeches to distort the heroic struggle of Fahd and his comrades and the history and attitude of the Iraqi Communist Party with fabricated unfounded accusations . . . . These accusations and this feverish campaign in antagonizing Iraqi Communists and the Soviet Union is nothing new to the patriotic and democratic Iraqi forces. The Iraqi people know well that the weapon of Iraqi reactionaries in antagonizing the progressive forces has been and still is one and the same at all times, although the lies differ somewhat. . . ." (March 6, 1980)

"General Eytan, the Israeli Chief of Staff, confessed in one of his recent statements that the United States supplies Israel with intelligence information about strategic military targets in Saudi Arabia. Although this admission did not disclose anything new to the world, it gives us another chance to talk about the so-called balanced U.S. policy in the Middle East. America has strived to depict its policy in the region as being just and evenhanded toward both Israel and the Arab. However, such claims are pure propaganda because the United States continues to be eager to consolidate Israel's military capabilities and thus continues to totally back and support Israel in its expansionist and aggressive designs." (November 29, 1981)

". . . the Reagan Administration is trying to exploit the AWACS deal in order to increase Saudi Arabia's subservience to American imperialist policies. Furthermore, Washington's plans to tame Riyadh, which rejects the Camp David deal, have the same colonial crudeness as that of Washington's British predecessors in the Near and Middle East. . . . American politicians compare the Arabs with children who should be given a tank or a gun to make them stop shouting. . . . Behind the bragging over this electronic miracle (the AWACS) . . . lies the hope pinned by the American Administration on the ignorance and the naivete of the Arabs who, it is claimed, are incapable of grasping the real intentions of American imperialism." (September 28, 1981)

"The U.S. Congress has approved the sale of five espionage AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia. This act ends a long theatrical play of information put on to conceal Riyadh's involvement in implementing the designs of the United States and Israel against the Arabs." (October 30, 1981)

". . . Soviet Communists, whom Arab reaction is trying to villify, are busy honestly helping the Arab countries to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression and to preserve their heritage and religion. The position of Soviet Communists is synonymous with the interests of the struggle against the obscurantist forces of imperialism." (September 25, 1981)

". . . . The enemies of the establishment of economic and political relations between the peoples of the Arabian Gulf and the Socialist countries . . . allege that the establishment of diplomatic relations with Moscow poses a threat to Islam. Naturally, all this is utterly false. The Soviet Communists who safeguard the freedom of religious belief in their own country have never violated this principle in the international arena either." (October 2, 1981)

Hebrew to Israel

"The Israeli Government, which is now dispatching armored vehicles and tanks to destroy the houses and transfer the settlers into Israel's territory, claims that the Sinai settlements had been established arbitrarily—so to speak—and that the settlers moved there of their own free will. . . . Those people ultimately understood the extent of cynicism and cruelty employed by the government in leading them by the nose: As long as they lived in the foreign territories, they were hostages to the policy of violence. Now Begin and his associates use the fate of the settlers as though it was small change to pay for their new move—converting the Israeli conquest of the Sinai into a U.S. conquest . . . perhaps it would be wiser to say "no" already today to the political adventurism of the government which has turned Israel into the hostage of the coolheaded calculations of those people across the ocean who want to control both the Jews, the Arabs, and the entire human race." (March 9, 1982)

". . . Secretary of State Alexander Haig, announces even now that despite the shipment of arms to Arab countries, the United States will find a way to guarantee Israel's military superiority in the Middle East. Arms for mass killing, including chemical arms, on Israeli soil is the U.S. solution. In other words, U.S. attempts to expand its military ties with a number of Arab regimes are not at all in conflict with the strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel as Washington perceives it—the kind of cooperation where one partner becomes the other partner's hostage and victim. Clearly, if another flareup erupts in the Middle East when arms for massive killing are stationed there, even if they are not intended to be activated, catastrophe cannot be avoided. Israel and other countries will turn into barren deserts." (February 21, 1982)

English to Asia

"In violation of all diplomatic norms, the United States Embassy in India is actively taking part in carrying out the CIA-planned so-called smuggling of Afghan counterrevolutionaries through India and other countries. According to the (Indian) weekly (*Blitz*), in the recent past alone, about 500 Afghan ringleaders flew from Delhi by plane on international airlines to Seattle and other American cities to go through courses in spying and sabotage operations. In special American schools, instructors also teach them methods of conducting mass terrorism against the civilian population—how to blow up factories and plants, schools,

hospitals, and bridges and how to poison drinking wells." (November 2, 1981)

" The people of India express serious concern and anxiety over the mounting intrigues of the Central Intelligence Agency against their country. According to sources of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of India, the CIA is financing the separatist movement in the State of Punjab. This is being done through secret channels by way of Pakistan. The Chief Minister of the State of Punjab, Darbara Singh, points out that it is the United States that is behind the slogan of creating a so-called independent state for the Sikhs. The American magazine, *Countersay*, presents evidence of the intensified intrigues by the CIA against India." (May 22, 1982)

"Should special circumstances arise, the test of the first Pakistan atomic bomb may take place in China since Beijing, being Islamabad's ally, was kind enough to offer all sorts of assistance, certainly not disinterested. And at present, the U.S. Administration, demonstrating verbally its displeasure with the nuclear work being carried on in Pakistan, is in fact encouraging the Pakistani militaristic plan . . . Pakistan, will be very pleased with the new American planes. However, it is not clear where these planes will be heading for, starting off from the aerodromes which are speedily being built on the territory of Pakistan, and for quite understandable reasons this question worries many people. Pakistan's atomic bomb poses a real threat to the security of all the neighboring states. The public of these countries cannot be satisfied with Pakistan's recent allegations about its adherence to peace." (January 5, 1982)

"The Beijing upper crust favors (the) wild ambitions of Washington and has voiced its readiness to sacrifice the sovereign rights of China for the sake of the interest of American imperialism . . . the United States and China have reaffirmed their intention to knock together an aggressive military political alliance despite all the existing tactical disagreements. This alliance threatens considerably the course of peace in Asia." (January 13, 1982)

Spanish to Latin America

"Many countries throughout the world are closely following the investigation into the death of the famous Panamanian politician and member of the military, General Omar Torrijos. Everything that is known, up to the present time, indicates that the Yankee CIA, corporation of murderers, is implicated in the death of Torrijos. The CIA began this hunt approximately 10 years ago. His bold and consistent interventions regarding Panama's sovereignty and its undeniable right of the Panama Canal Zone led to Torrijos and many other Latin American progressive personalities being placed on the list of persons that the CIA has planned to retire from the political scene at any cost." (August 10, 1981)

"CIA terrorist agents are acting in Latin America. Important personalities have been their victims during the past few years, such as Peruvian leader General Luis Andres Rublos, Ecuadorean President Jaime Roldos, and Panamian leader Omar Torrijos. On CIA orders, former Bolivian President Juan Jose Torres was murdered in Buenos Aires 5 years ago." (December 5, 1981)

". . . The CIA used to carry out its criminal operations against certain statesmen and politicians under cover, but now it has been given a green light to carry them out against peoples. This operation involves a wide range of biological and chemical warfare. Suspicious lethal epidemics have appeared affecting the population, including epizootic cattle disease and several diseases affecting agriculture. According to a new order given by the U.S. President, all restrictions on CIA secret operations abroad have been lifted, including the barbaric extermination of peoples." (November 3, 1981)

"The CIA kidnaps children of Salvadoran refugees in Honduras. These operations are carried out under the disguise of the World Mission religious organization, which officially is carrying out charity activities in the refugee camps. These shepherds of souls, who in reality are CIA agents, promise the mothers of the children that they will be well-fed and will receive an education in the United States. The poor peasants are obliged to accept because their children are threatened with starvation . . . the Salvadoran children are sent to special CIA centers in the United States. They are subject to all kinds of research and tests. Once their abilities have been determined, the children are divided into groups. Some are sent to special schools for brainwashing and then trained for espionage and the organization of terrorist actions. Others, because they are inept for these activities, are sent to CIA research centers. Here they are used as guinea pigs. They are used for testing medicine and chemical products capable of changing the human conscience, brain operations and other experiments are also carried out." (February 4, 1982)

"Repression against Latin American workers has long been part of the activities of many U.S. multinational companies. Thus, the hoodlums hired by the Panamerican Railroad Company in Honduras became notorious for their repression of Honduran workers. . . . The Coca-Cola Corporation has organized its own minipolice in Guatemala. Once, the Italian newspaper, *Paese Sera*, reported on the way these gangsters operate. It described how a union leader had been murdered at a bus stop by a motorcyclist who had approached him, stuck a knife in his throat, and ran away. However, many persons identified the murderer as a Coca-Cola employee." (January 25, 1982)

"U.S. military advisers participate in torturing Salvadoran rebels and prisoners. . . . Many executioners of the Stroessner, Pinochet, Duvalier, Salvadoran, and Guatemalan tyrannies, and also of the late dictator Somoza, were trained in the art of torture at the notorious School of the Americas. Here they attended a special course and were lectured on how to set up prisons and concentration camps. These topics are part of a training program for several dozen specially chosen persons out of the 1,500 Salvadorans whom the Pentagon and the CIA decided urgently to train. The first group of this contingent has already arrived in the United States. Thus, gringo imperialism continues to improve its gigantic system of tortures and harassment in Latin America." (January 12, 1982)

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COMMUNIST CLANDESTINE BROADCASTING

December 1982

Clandestine radio broadcasting is broadcasting in the language of the target audience from a station which does not admit to the origin of transmission or which attempts to mislead listeners about the origin. Such broadcasting has been used for decades by the U.S.S.R. and, at Moscow's behest, by some of its allies as a propaganda medium. For example, one long-time clandestine station, *Radio Espana Independiente* (Radio of Independent Spain) controlled by the then-exiled Spanish Communist Party, in June 1941 began broadcasting anti-Franco Spanish-language programs from Soviet territory to Spain, just as the Nazis invaded the U.S.S.R. The radio was relocated to Romania in the mid-1950s and in 1967 added a Hungarian transmitter; it disappeared from the air with Franco's death in 1975. In the early 1970s, at least 10 clandestine radios were broadcasting to Western Europe and the Near East from Soviet and East European territory. Seven later closed down, in most instances because political changes in the target countries resulted in the legalization of underground domestic Communist parties and made the radios redundant.

Today, two clandestine stations broadcast from Soviet territory: *Radio Ba Yi*, established in early 1979, beams Mandarin-language programs to China; the *National Voice of Iran*, established in 1959, broadcasts in Persian to Iran. East Germany provides facilities for two Turkish-language stations, *Our Radio* and the *Voice of the Turkish Communist Party*, established in 1958 and 1968, respectively.

Radio Ba Yi

First monitored in early 1979, *Radio Ba Yi* purports to speak for the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The station takes its name from the Chinese words "Eight One," or August First, the traditional date of the founding of the Chinese Red Army in 1927. In contrast to official Soviet broadcasts to China, such as *Radio Moscow's* Mandarin-language programs or those of the semi-official *Radio Peace and Progress*, *Radio Ba Yi* claims to reflect the perspective of "our army" or "our country's representatives" and strives to identify with the Chinese cadre point of view.

The radio has never acknowledged a sponsor, Soviet or Chinese, and the Soviet media have conspicuously ignored it. Nevertheless, *Radio Ba Yi's* Soviet sponsorship is clear. Technical observations indicate that the transmitter is located in the Soviet Far East. Moreover, while *Radio Ba Yi* has its own style, the views expressed always are complementary to, if not identical with, established Soviet positions. Its broadcasts began at a sensitive time in Sino-Soviet relations—in the wake of China's attack on Vietnam and just before Beijing's long-expected announcement on April 3, 1979, that it would terminate the 1950 Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance. Its establishment also coincided with the period of U.S.-Chinese political rapprochement, which Moscow regarded with suspicion.

Radio Ba Yi devotes much attention to "bread and butter" issues of cadre policy, especially to Beijing's efforts to retire less productive cadre and to transfer others. The propaganda line plays on older cadre's fears of changes that threaten reductions in their economic and political influence and, especially, of changes that portend a loss of their position in society. By developing the cadre policy theme, *Radio Ba Yi* apparently hopes to heighten dissatisfaction with policies associated with Deng Xiaoping.

Radio Ba Yi's commentaries have condemned Deng for usurping power, violating the principles of collective leadership, damaging the army by transferring military leaders for his own selfish ends, and selling out China's national interests to the United States and Japan. (Other Chinese leaders also have been the subject of sharp, but less frequent, criticism.) For example, a January 14, 1980, commentary following U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown's visit to China declared that Sino-U.S. relations had embarked on a path that encroached on Chinese sovereignty, damaged national pride, and threatened national security. It accused Deng of deciding "all by himself" to allow the United States to install and operate, with U.S. intelligence personnel, an electronic "spy network" that would allow the United States to collect "secret intelligence" on China's economy and national defense. The people who agreed to such demands, the commentary concluded, if they did not deliberately wish to turn China into a U.S. military base, were "suffering from senile decay."

Radio Ba Yi declines to provide detailed commentary on the U.S.S.R. but has, on occasion, advocated improved Sino-Soviet relations and greater receptivity to Soviet initiatives. Reporting on the Sino-Soviet talks of the previous fall, a January 9, 1980, commentary emphasized that Soviet suggestions for restoring relations "to the level of the early 1950s" were worthy of consideration: If "the few central leaders" opposing improved relations take into account China's long-term interests, "the deadlock in Sino-Soviet negotiations can be broken." An August 1, 1980, broadcast made a similar point: Certain people in authority, it suggested, ought to seriously examine Chinese foreign policy, which has turned armies that once fought shoulder to shoulder with us into our enemies.

On other foreign policy issues, *Radio Ba Yi* has criticized the leadership's "betrayal" of China's interest in Taiwan, warned against its alleged encouragement of Japanese militarism, and derided Chinese policy in South and Southeast Asia. Despite the impact of Moscow's invasion of Afghanistan on Sino-Soviet relations, *Radio Ba Yi* has given little attention to Chinese policy reactions.

Criticism is the only consistent element in *Radio Ba Yi's* diverse commentary on the Chinese domestic scene. The

An informal research study for background information

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lack of political democracy, poor management of the economy, the leadership's alleged worship of Western and Japanese lifestyles, and errors in handling government-army and army-civilian relations are regularly denounced.

Following the mid-September 1982 moratorium on Soviet propaganda attacks on China and the announcement of Sino-Soviet talks in Beijing, *Radio Ba Yi* has continued to criticize Chinese policies but has avoided condemning leaders by name. The radio's failure to halt attacks against China is consistent with the past practice of avoiding the appearance of close coordination with official Soviet media. Nevertheless, it continues to make Deng Xiaoping a primary target of criticism.

National Voice of Iran

Like *Radio Ba Yi*, the *National Voice of Iran* (NVOI) is a clandestine station, broadcasting from Baku, U.S.S.R., in Persian and Azeri to Iran. NVOI presents itself as Iranian, speaking as the voice of "our" people and "our" country and frequently praising the attitude of "our friendly northern neighbor," the Soviet Union. Until recently, it had not been known to identify with any Iranian organization, such as the illegal Communist Tudeh Party, although there were instances (1966–70) when the radio mentioned Tudeh Party leaders or incidents such as arrests of Tudeh members, just as from time to time it had protested the Shah's "illegal acts" against religious leaders.

NVOI themes have remained basically the same over the years. Immediately after its inception in 1959, NVOI began waging a propaganda campaign against the Shah personally, assailing his policies and his morals. In 1963, NVOI urged participation in the Shah's January referendum on various reform issues and temporarily modified its previous hard line. The new restraint was in keeping with Moscow's generally friendlier attitude toward Iran since September 1962, when the U.S.S.R. accepted the Shah's unilateral declaration not to allow foreign missile bases in Iran.

NVOI's criticism of the Shah subsequently reappeared. Broadcasts in the late 1960s contained occasional calls for his overthrow and accused the Shah of violating not only the constitution but also the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. Themes in this period included demands for expulsion of U.S. military advisers and for Iran's withdrawal from the Central Treaty Organization, calls for a neutral foreign policy, denunciations of "plunder" of Iranian resources by foreign oil companies and damage to the economy through the unequal trade practices of Western "imperialist" countries, criticism of health, education, land reform, agricultural, and industrial policies and of lack of press freedom.

In recent years, NVOI has played a dual role, defending Soviet policies while posing as the voice of the Iranian people. The radio diverged from official Soviet media as the Shah's position deteriorated in the fall of 1978; it urged his overthrow while Moscow for months did not even acknowledge that the Shah was the target of the disorders.

Soviet policy divergence also was evident during the detention of the American hostages in Tehran. In the immediate aftermath of the seizure of the hostages on November 4, 1979, NVOI supported the takeover of the U.S. Embassy by "struggling and enthusiastic young people" while counseling restraint in the treatment of the hostages. NVOI on November 5 asserted that the U.S. Government "does not cease in practice from hatching plots against Iran" but cautioned that the "young people of our homeland" possessed "enough political and revolutionary awareness not to resort to certain measures against the employees of the U.S. Embassy."

At the same time, official Soviet media were extremely cautious and with the exception of *Radio Moscow's* Persian-language service (which called the Embassy seizure "understandable") refrained from any original comment on [illegible] independent assessment of the crisis. *Pravda*, for example, noted as late as November 16 that "commentators in the West" were not venturing to predict the future course of events in Tehran. Moscow's official reticence was noted in Foreign Minister Gromyko's refusal to do more than express hope that the situation would be "resolved positively" in response to a query in Madrid on November 21. And on December 5, an authoritative article in *Pravda* asserted that "unquestionably, the seizure of the U.S. Embassy by itself is not in conformity with the international convention on respect for diplomatic privileges and immunity."

U.S. Government protests to Soviet officials in mid-November prompted Moscow to clamp down on NVOI, as well as on *Radio Moscow's* Persian service. In a dramatic turnabout, NVOI on November 20 welcomed the freeing of some of the hostages and said it was "imperative" that those still held be released.

Currently, NVOI is increasingly critical of the suppression of the Communist Tudeh Party and other Iranian leftists—subjects generally avoided by the official Soviet media. The radio continues its attacks on "world-devouring America" but also regularly chides Iranian media and unnamed Iranian officials for what it depicts as irrational attacks on the Soviet Union. Although continuing to profess support for Ayatollah Khomeini, NVOI has intimated disaffection with the regime's conduct.

- Commentary on Iranian internal developments, which in the past focused chiefly on the allegedly "pro-American" stance of Tehran "liberals" and addressed the regime's excesses in general terms, has become more specific as the repression of leftists and Iranian criticism of Soviet policy continued. In late 1981, the radio called for a halt to summary executions of leftists not implicated in the assassinations and bombings then sweeping the country. More recently, NVOI complained that the harsh treatment of "innocent" Iranian prisoners with "divergent views" violated Islamic standards and the Islamic Republic's constitution. In addition, the radio has stressed the need for fundamental domestic reforms (including freedom of speech and the press), called for an end to the violation of women's rights, and criticized purges from governmental and educational institutions of individuals who "sincerely defend . . . the imam's line."
- NVOI has been indignant over continuing Iranian outbursts against the U.S.S.R. and Tehran's equation of Eastern and Western superpowers. It even attempted to portray Ayatollah Khomeini as rejecting Iran's "neither East nor West" slogan. Iran's mass media are criticized for their daily "accusations and insults" against the Soviet Union, with the implication that such treatment benefits only the United States. Earlier this year, NVOI attacked the producers of a Tehran television program for referring to the "so-called superpowers" and to the "so-called Russians" and for charging that "all crimes . . . are committed by the Soviet Union." The radio also has criticized anti-Soviet slogans and posters appearing in Tehran while urging closer cooperation and friendship between Iran and the "friendly" Socialist countries.
- On foreign policy matters, NVOI uses every possible occasion to warn its listeners that Iran's main enemy remains the United States and to caution against ties to "springboards of imperialist aggression," such as Pakistan and Turkey. NVOI has consistently assailed Iran's policy toward the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan as "unrealistic"

and in "precisely the direction desired by the foes of the Iranian revolution." In another departure from the official Soviet position, in April 1982 RVOI shifted from an initially neutral stance on the Iran-Iraq war and came out in support of Iran's terms for ending the conflict, declaring that Baghdad's "only way out" was to accept those conditions.

East European Efforts

Over the years, various East European countries have made available broadcasting facilities to a number of Western Communist movements. Usually the listeners were not informed that the programs originated outside the target country. As early as 1950, the Italian-language *Oggi Italia* (Today in Italy) began broadcasting the views of the Italian Communist Party (CPI) from Prague. CPI-prepared programs, including speeches of CPI leaders, subsequently were aired over several East European transmitters—Hungarian, Polish, and Romanian—until the station ceased operation in 1971. Other East European-based stations have included:

- *Deutscher Freiheitssender Neun Hundert Vier* (German Freedom Station 904), broadcasting from East Germany in German, Greek, Spanish, Turkish, and Italian to foreign workers in West Germany. The station operated from 1956 until 1972; its programming reflected the views of the West German Communist Party.
- *Radio Peyke-e Iran* (Radio Iran Courier), the voice of the outlawed Tudeh Party, broadcast in Persian to Iran from transmitters located first in East Germany and then Bulgaria, 1957–76.
- *Radiofonikos Stathmos I Foni tis Alithias* (Voice of Truth), the mouthpiece of the formerly exiled Greek Communist Party, broadcast in Greek to Greece and Cyprus from transmitters in East Germany, 1958–75.
- *Deutscher Soldatensender* (German Soldiers' Station), a Germany-language propaganda station in East Germany aimed at West German military personnel, 1960–72.
- *Radio Portugal Livre* (Radio Free Portugal), the voice of the exiled Portuguese Communist Party, broadcast from three transmitters believed to have been located in Romania, 1962–74.
- *La Voce degli operai italiani emigrate alestero* (Voice of the Italian Emigre Workers), aimed at Italian workers in West Germany, broadcast from East Germany, 1971–76.

At the present time, the only clandestine stations still operating from Eastern Europe are two that broadcast in Turkish. Technical observations indicate that both use facilities in Magdeburg, East Germany. *Bizim Radyo* (Our Radio) was established in 1958, one year after clandestine broadcasts to Greece and Iran were initiated; the *Voice of the Turkish Communist Party* (VOTCP) was inaugurated in 1968 with broadcasts to Turkish emigrant workers in West Germany and began broadcasting to Turkey itself in late 1974.

These radios generally have followed the Soviet line in commenting on Turkish foreign policy, emphasizing themes designed to discredit the United States, NATO, and the West on a wide range of issues.

- On Turkish-U.S. relations, the radios have warned Turkey to rid itself of American and NATO influences which they charge deprive it of national independence, undermine its economy, and threaten its national security. Clandestine broadcasts have continuously sought to engender opposition to U.S. military bases in Turkey by appealing to Turkish national pride. Terming the dismantling of the bases as a "priority task" of the Turkish people, the broadcasts depict the U.S. military presence in Turkey as aimed "first and foremost" against Turkey's national independence as well as against the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries.
- Concurrently, the broadcasts have consistently promoted closer Turkish-Soviet cooperation, arguing that this would free Ankara from dependence on the West—said to be the cause of Turkey's political, social, and economic problems—and contribute to the Turkish people's "struggle for national and social liberation."
- On the Cyprus issue, the radios adhere to the Soviet position on a settlement, i.e., Moscow's call for a "representative" conference to discuss international guarantees of Cyprus' independence as well as the dismantling of military bases and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. At the same time, the radios go further than Moscow, notably in their open criticism of Turkey for the stalemated situation.

The clandestine radios are even more vitriolic in their attacks on Turkish domestic politics. Before the September 12, 1980, military takeover in Ankara, VOTCP and *Our Radio* had been unremitting in their hostility toward Turkey's civilian governments, particularly those led by the "reactionary and fascist" Justice Party (JP). Both radios broadcast calls for insurgency, acts of terrorism, and the overthrow of JP-led coalitions. By contrast, the two stations were ambivalent in their attitude toward the Republican People's Party (RPP). The radios distinguished between RPP's leftwing and centrist factions—between rank-and-file and the administration—and constantly upheld the leftwing's struggle against "imperialism and fascism."

Official Soviet reaction immediately following the September 12, 1980, military intervention was sparse and circumspect. Indeed, Moscow appeared to welcome the prospect that the Evren regime would restore a measure of stability to a country that official Soviet media had been describing as on the verge of civil war. (The Soviet Union was similarly circumspect following the 1971 military action in Turkey.) Official East German commentary on September 12, 1980, also portrayed the takeover as ending 5 years of "terror and mass misery" while avoiding direct criticism of the Evren regime.

Coverage of the takeover by VOTCP and *Our Radio*, however, contrasted sharply with that of official Communist media. Both clandestine stations promptly denounced the military intervention and called for unity of domestic forces in opposition to the "pro-American junta." A Turkish Communist Party statement broadcast the day after the coup urged all patriotic elements, including soldiers and "anti-American religious masses," to resist the new regime. This and other commentary contended that the takeover was inspired by the United States. Vehement criticism of the Evren regime as well as the radios' traditional attacks on Ankara's ties with Washington and NATO have continued steadily since September 1980, while official Communist media have been considerably more cautious in their treatment of the military government.

REPRESENTATIVE EXCERPTS FROM SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN CLANDESTINE RADIO BROADCASTS

Radio Ba Yi in Mandarin to China, May 3, 1982

In the past few months, facts have proved that the principle of reorganizing the cadre contingent, insisted on by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, is incorrect. This principle of consolidating the party and reorganizing the cadre contingent has not only damaged the situation of stability and unity which had emerged, but also dampened the enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres in carrying out their work. What is worse is that many cadres, who are not veteran senior cadres, have openly expressed their lack of confidence in the party Central Committee. In past years, many cadres worked assiduously and conscientiously without giving a thought to personal gain. However, they have now gone so far as to study the "science of relationship." They have become anxious about making job arrangements for their own children and preparations for their own retirement. This is partly due to the wrong workstyle of these cadres. But on the other hand, isn't it the typical realistic attitude held by cadres towards the party Central Committee and leading comrades of the central authorities? Many veteran cadres, in particular, have become more and more dissatisfied with individual leaders of the central authorities.

It may well be asked, what is the difference between this cadre policy and the cadre policy of the "gang of four" of appointing only those who were close to them but spreading slanderous rumors about, and even attacking or discriminating against, those cadres who oppose them?

Under such circumstances, how can cadres be asked to have confidence in the cadre policy currently implemented by the party Central Committee? And how can they be asked to have confidence in individual leading comrades of the central authorities?

Radio Ba Yi in Mandarin to China, November 1, 1982

The slogan of achieving stability and unity has been explicitly put forward since as early as the resolution of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The resolution pointed out the decision to launch no political movement or seize on others' faults, put labels on people or use the big stick. However, some persons, proceeding from personal interest, are continuing to use despicable means to harm others. Particularly since the end of the 12th CPC National Congress, some central leaders have again begun to transfer army leaders and purge army cadres. Moreover, they again treat army cadres with the tricks of those political movements, such as labeling people and using the big stick. They even use various excuses to remove army cadres from military command. What upsets the army cadres the most is that they are wantonly accused of being so-called remnants of the Lin Biao clique.

Some persons even said threateningly: The remnants of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique still exist. They hold certain leading posts, oppose the party's correct line and boycott the central authorities' correct decisions. We must wage resolute struggles against them.

Radio Ba Yi in Mandarin to China, November 4, 1982

By relying on the People's Army, the CPC eventually founded New China after prolonged armed struggle. After the establishment of the PRC, large numbers of the army's backbone forces were sent to the localities for reconstruction work. They have played an important role in the construction of New China. We can say that the army is second to none in contributing to the founding and construction of New China.

However, over the past 30 years and more, many heroes and outstanding generals have been killed because of suspicion and jealousy. This reminds us of the ruthless first emperors of the Song and Ming Dynasties. Their persecution of leading military leaders was appalling. High-ranking cadres such as Comrades Rao Shushi, Peng Dehuai and Huang Kecheng were brutally persecuted. Every few years, large numbers of marshals, ministers of national defense and leaders of the various departments of the armed services have been removed and replaced. Instead of improving, the situation actually worsened after the smashing of the gang of four.

NVOI in Persian to Iran, January 18, 1982

Both during and after the days of the revolution, these people rightly exerted all their might toward exposing the plots of the United States and drew the attention of the Islamic government toward this end. So far all the newspapers and publications and the speeches by government figures and officials in our country are full of figures, statistics, evidence and documents indicating the multifarious economic, political and military plots of world-devouring America and its allies against revolutionary Iran. Everywhere these people, these millions-strong masses, hear and read that every day and minute the United States designs and implements a plan to overthrow the system of the Islamic Republic, to trample upon our nation's revolutionary gains, and to bring to power a system flavored by plundering Western monopolies. It is for this reason that at every gathering, march, assembly and meeting these people voice the slogan of "Death to America" with all their being. However, these millions-strong masses have the right to be amazed and concerned when now and then not only the liberals and the counterrevolutionaries and not only the pseudoclergy, but even some of the officials and authorities—either due to being misled or due to mental prejudice and the intimations of the imperialist mass media, or from fear of the accusations of the foes of the revolution—along with the main, primary and factual slogan of "Death to America," strive to impose on society the slogan "Death to the Soviet Union" without presenting any proof, evidence or documentation.

Since when has declaring war on the world and insulting everybody inopportunely, illogically and without any reason and grounds been proof of independence and neutrality? These people have witnessed through experience and life that while the United States—whether on the eve of the revolution or during almost 3 years of the post-revolution period—has hatched and continues to hatch a plot every hour against revolutionary Iran, the Soviet Government has in contrast supported our nation's revolution from the very outset of the peak of the revolutionary struggles until the present. No one can show a single example refuting this claim even by resorting to sophistry.

BROADCAST TIME AND FREQUENCIES

Radio Ba Yi

Broadcast Time: Irregular—a *Radio Ba Yi* broadcast typically includes a brief 4–8 minute transmission on the hour and half hour sometime between 1200 GMT (2000 and 2340 Beijing time).

Frequency Usage: 12120 KHz

NVOI

Broadcast Time: 1730—1815 and 1930—2000 GMT

Frequency Usage: 6025 and 5915 KHz

VOTCP

Broadcast Time: 0400—0450, 0600—0650, 0800—0850, 1000—1050, 1200—1250, 1400—1450, 1600—1650, 1800—1850, 2000—2050, 2200—2250 GMT

Frequency Usage: 9585 and 6200 KHz

Our Radio

Broadcast Time: 0300—0350, 0500—0550, 0500—0530, 0700—0750, 0900—0950, 1015—1045, 1100—1150, 1300—1350, 1445—1515, 1500—1550, 1700—1750, 1740—1810, 1900—1950, 2000—2030, 2030—2100, 2100—2150 GMT

Frequency Usage: 11820, 9585, 9500, 6200 KHz

NVOI in Persian to Iran,
February 8, 1982

It said the struggles of our people against world-devouring America and its puppets in the region continued with the utmost intensity during the third year of the revolution. The compromising liberals and other dregs of the great Satan and the pseudo-Muslims continue to resort to various ruses and ploys to divert the struggles of our homeland's people against world-devouring America, including the ruse of putting forward the name of the Soviet Union, without presenting any proof and basis.

However, the imam of the nation foiled this attempt by the compromising liberals and other elements and mercenaries. The imam rightly said that the dregs of America have strived and continue to strive to negate America by raising the name of the Soviet Union. The imam has justly called America the main enemy of Iran, and his guideline was and continues to be that all should direct their cries against America.

NVOI in Persian to Iran,
April 5, 1982

We maintain that the danger of U.S. imperialism and the plots of its dregs is a serious danger. In order to carry out a bloody plot against revolutionary Iran, the United States is making use of all its elements, from the counterrevolution within and abroad to dependent regimes such as those in Turkey, Israel, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Oman and others. The Israeli Zionists do not conceal their aggressive plans against Iran, which are the same conspiratorial U.S. schemes.

On the other hand, America is engaged in preparing military operations and plots against revolutionary Iran from Turkey and Pakistan. It is a fact that some of the counterrevolutionary groups are stationed on Turkey's borders with Iran, without doubt with the agreement of Turkey and the United States.

Now, if some persons want to close their eyes and ears to this reality it is their own business. But we must come to the certain conclusion that America is preparing the implementation of a plot on various levels, including through Turkey and Pakistan. Under conditions in which the United States has mobilized all its potential to overthrow the Islamic Republic's system, lack of necessary attention toward this fact and the unleashing of a propaganda campaign against the true forces of the revolution cannot be attributed to anything but attempts to save America from blows. The danger of America's plots in the region is a serious danger, and one must confront this danger seriously and realistically.

NVOI in Persian to Iran,
May 18, 1982

Dear compatriots: Certain measures have been adopted by our country's Islamic government toward leading foreign policy in a correct anti-imperialist direction, and this has the endorsement of our homeland's people. However, the fact cannot be ignored that our country's official policy in some instances, for example with respect to the Afghan problem, is not only unrealistic, but is precisely in the direction desired by the foes of the Iranian revolution. For instance, when we pay attention to the reports about Afghanistan that are disseminated by the Voice of our Islamic Republic, regrettably we see that reports in this connection are the exact reports selected by Western news agencies and which are fed to the people as reliable news.

At a time when all observers in Afghanistan are witnessing the stabilization of the situation and the successes of the people of that country in connection with the construction of a new society, suddenly one hears from the Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran reports fabricated by Western news media, for example about so-called clashes in the center of Kabul and similar cases. Naturally, this development cannot but arouse the concern of our homeland's people.

Indeed it is a matter for deliberation as to which factors have caused our Islamic Republic to pursue an anti-imperialist approach on the one hand and, in some instances, for example in the Afghan problem, to be in harmony with imperialist circles on the other hand.

NVOI in Persian to Iran,
September 29, 1982

It said every passing day our homeland's people are becoming aware more than ever of the harm resulting from the nonimplementation of the law in the country.

We know that the imam of the nation declared the year 1360 as the year of law, and requested everyone, particularly the responsible authorities, to observe the laws in our liberated country. However, unfortunately, there is still no sign of the implementation of the Constitution's principles in our country in the true sense of the word. This fact paves the way for the achievement of the satanic aims of the foes of the revolution, whether internal or external.

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, approved by a decisive majority of the people, is one of the gains of the Iranian nation's revolution. Among the democratic freedoms stipulated in the Constitution for the Iranian people are the freedom of activity of parties and freedom of the press and so forth. But unfortunately, in practice, these freedoms are not observed. Many of the true revolutionary parties and organizations in the imam's and the revolution's popular and anti-imperialist line have actually been deprived of the right of free activity. Both in the capital and in other towns the offices of these organizations have been occupied by unauthorized individuals. Many truthful newspapers and periodicals have been banned and their offices are under the occupation of unauthorized elements.

NVOI in Persian to Iran,
October 7, 1982

Dear compatriots: The executors of America's treacherous policy within Iran are being brought before revolutionary courts, exposed and punished. After the execution of Sadeq Qotbzadeh, now some of his other associates also have been duly punished for their treacherous acts.

Such measures by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran against treacherous plotters, as well as the unshakable struggle of the nation, which up to now have thwarted and foiled the independence-destroying plan and plots of the great Satan one after the other, have increased the wrath and vengeance of this seven-headed dragon from whose mouth spouts the poison of bondage and slavery and fire of destruction, aggression and oppression.

One of America's evil aims, pursued by its agents and followers and counterrevolutionary elements within Iran, is anti-Soviet propaganda, a hackneyed and inadmissible example that can be seen in some of our country's press as well.

We all know that after the overthrow of the shah's criminal regime, the Soviet Union was the first government to recognize the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. From a principled, neutral and impartial standpoint it defended the Iranian nation's national sovereignty and interests in the face of incessant threats posed by America against Iran. It condemned interference in Iran's internal affairs and explicitly declared that determining and defining the form of government and political organizations of every country including Iran, is the concern of the people of that same country.

VOTCP in Turkish to Europe and Turkey,
March 31, 1982

During the NATO meetings, the junta's Defense Minister Bayulken announced that his government supports the U.S. view against the peace proposals of the Soviet Union.

While this announcement was being made, two warships belonging to the U.S. 6th Fleet passed through the Turkish strait on 26 March and went to the Black Sea. The Soviet Union displayed a justified reaction in the face of this overt U.S. provocation. It harshly condemned the United States. It is evident that the existence of the U.S. war fleet can transform the Black Sea into a center of tension, like other regions.

However, a short while ago, in addition to a series of proposals, Soviet President Brezhnev also proposed to keep military fleets away from each other. As is known, the Turkish Communist Party [TCP] supported this proposal as well as all the other proposals as a necessity of Turkey's national interests, and especially demanded that the 6th Fleet stop polluting our territorial waters.

The latest 6th Fleet provocation, which aims to confront Turkey with its neighbors in the Black Sea, has clearly proved how right the TCP was in supporting the Soviet peace proposals. The fact that the provocation coincided with the eve of the talks between Turkey and the Soviet Union on the 3-year trade relations constitutes another proof of this. As can be seen, the course of the junta in the wake of U.S. imperialism is contrary to our country's national interests. The disgusting lies that the Soviet Union poses a threat to Turkey have actually been concocted in order to conceal the fact that U.S. imperialism is threatening the socialist countries and the national liberation movements.

What are the warships of the United States, which does not have an inch of shoreline on the Black Sea, doing in our territorial waters? This is a clear show of force for the benefit of the socialist countries. By slavishly bowing down to this aggressive policy of the United States, the junta is also dragging Turkey into tension and the danger of war.

VOTCP in Turkish to Europe and Turkey, November 8, 1982

The junta generals who assumed power through the bayonets, obtained through the same means, achieved the results they wanted in Sunday's Constitution referendum. The dictatorship of the collaborationist and monopolist bourgeoisie has been concealed behind the cover of the Constitution. The republic system has been replaced by the Evren dictatorship.

As the first results of the referendum began coming in, it was clear that the generals allowed 6 to 7 percent of no votes.

Our Radio in Turkish to Turkey, June 4, 1982

Comrades, the task of creating a strong anti-imperialist mass movement and a strong people's resistance against U.S. imperialism in Turkey is awaiting us in the coming period. It is clear that, above all, dependence on U.S. imperialism and NATO lies at the root of the deep problems currently facing our country. The U.S. imperialist policy of increasing tension and aggression also lies at the root of the dangers awaiting our country in the future.

As we have stated on numerous occasions, the junta would not have been able to intensify the pressure on our people to such an extent without the support of U.S. imperialists. The deployment of nuclear missiles in Turkey is the next item on the agenda after providing facilities to the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force by the junta. The junta is heading towards becoming the tool of U.S. imperialism in the region. It is taking steps toward militarizing industry at the cost of totally ruining the economy. It is establishing political and military relations with reactionary regimes in the Middle East and exacerbating the tension with Greece. It is spreading the process of monopolization and militarism. The junta is stamping its influence on the state. This constitutes the internal basis that pushes the country toward the adventurist goals of U.S. imperialism. In addition to transforming our country into a dangerous factor against peace, this situation also threatens our national security. ■

Foreign Affairs Note

United States Department of State
Washington, D.C.

SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES: FOCUS ON FORGERIES

April 1983

For many years forgeries have been a staple of Soviet "active measures." In the post-World War II period, the Soviets and their allies, especially Czechoslovakia and East Germany, have repeatedly distributed false documents to mislead target audiences. In testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1961, U.S. officials identified 31 documents as communist forgeries.[1] A former Czech intelligence officer, Ladislav Bittman, who defected in 1968, has described how forged documents are prepared and disseminated.[2] In 1980, the House Select Committee on Intelligence publicized a number of forgeries which circulated in the 1970s.[3] Congressional hearings in 1982 placed additional cases of political forgeries on the record.[4] This study examines communist techniques for producing forgeries and a number of fabrications which have come to light in 1982.

Operational Control

Proposals for forgeries and other active measures may originate either in KGB headquarters or in the KGB residency in the target country. Whatever the source, the local residency and Moscow collaborate closely. Depending on its sensitivity and importance, approval for a forgery may be obtained from the KGB leadership, the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, or the Secretariat of the Central Committee itself. KGB specialists prepare the forgery under the supervision of the active measures section of the KGB's First Chief Directorate. Although any KGB agent or asset may be used to surface the document, the chief of the KGB residency's active measures group controls the operation.

Many forgeries aim at the media. Although the fabricators are aware that once a document appears in print the supposed author will promptly deny its authenticity, the Soviets calculate that a denial will never entirely offset the damage from news stories based on the forgery.

Some forgeries are not designed for public dissemination but rather are intended to circulate privately. Their purpose is to influence individual leaders and opinionmakers. The damage is harder to assess. The purported author often gets no opportunity to set the record straight.

Some forgeries have general themes and are recirculated repeatedly. Two examples, still in use in 1983, are the so-called "holocaust" documents (Fig. 1) and the false "destabilization" U.S. Army Field Manual, FM 30-31B (Fig. 2). The first, a doctored U.S. military planning document, shows supposed U.S. nuclear targets in Western Europe. First surfacing in the Norwegian magazine *Orientering* in 1967, it was denounced then but has resurfaced more than 20 times since in various countries. Most recently, it was the basis for questions in the City Council of Graz, Austria, in December 1982.

The subject of the fake Army manual is "destabilization techniques" in noncommunist countries. Its purpose is to stimulate suspicion about U.S. intentions and activities. The first mention of it was in March 1975 in the Turkish newspaper *Baris*. Later that year an attempt to circulate it within the Philippine Government led to its exposure. It has appeared a number of times since, most recently in a January 1982 article in the government-affiliated Maltese newspaper *Il Torca*.

Technical Aspects

The Soviets have developed considerable technical proficiency in fabricating U.S. Government documents, but quality varies greatly depending on the time devoted to preparation and the nature of the intended audience. Even the best forgeries can be unmasked by expert analysis. Indicators that a document may be forged relate to:

Surfacing. The forger confronts the problem of reaching the intended audience without revealing the origin of the document. Mailing the fabrication without a return address or with a spurious one is the most common method.

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[1] *Communist Forgeries*, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Government Printing Office, 1961.

[2] Ladislav Bittman, *The Deception Game*, Ballantine, 1972.

[3] *Soviet Covert Action: The Forgery Offensive*, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Government Printing Office, 1980.

[4] *Soviet Active Measures*, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Government Printing Office, 1982.

Cover Letters. Frequently, the document is transmitted with a covering letter which attempts to lend authenticity to the forgery. Typically, the cover letter summarizes the content of the forgery and explains the author's alleged motive for transmitting it in terms of outrage over the revelations contained in the fabrication. The letter is always untraceable and frequently unsigned—with the writer excusing the lack of a signature by claiming fear for his life or position. An example is the unsigned cover letter used in an attempt to surface FM 30–31B as shown in Fig. 2.

Format. The Soviets go to considerable effort to collect useful forms, letters, official signatures, and the like as models for their efforts. (Fig. 7 reproduces a forged Department of Defense press release.) While the Soviets produce authentic-looking documents in many cases, there are almost always small discrepancies and mistakes. Government forms and procedures frequently change; for them to be duplicated with total accuracy, a detailed knowledge—difficult for an outsider to achieve—is required.

Language. The texts of some forged U.S. documents indicate that they are not prepared by native-born speakers of American English. Phraseology is stilted; British spellings may occur in purported American documents (British forms are widely taught in Soviet schools); and some expressions appear to be literally translated from the Russian. For example, the forged military memo on NATO air defense exercises (Fig. 8) uses the British spelling "manoeuvre" instead of the American "maneuver"; the Aviation Personnel International letter (Fig. 9) refers to "competent bodies" in a direct translation of the Russian expression *kompetentnyye organy*, a euphemism for security services but not used in this sense in American English. While these linguistic flaws may not be evident to the target audience, especially in non-English-speaking areas, they are important clues in establishing lack of authenticity.

News Value. In many cases the forger tries to influence public opinion by achieving uncritical publication of the product. To do this, the media must be convinced not only of the document's authenticity but also of its news value. To heighten interest, many forgeries bear an inflated security classification or purport to be the correspondence of high-ranking officials.

Timing. Political forgeries, whether targeted at public opinion or select decisionmaking groups, are often tied to current issues. The false Department of Commerce memorandum (Fig. 5) dealing with trade issues, for example, circulated just before the Versailles economic summit meeting of June 1982. The sudden appearance of a "private" or "confidential" document at a time of political sensitivity can be a warning of possible fraud.

Photo Copies. Forgeries are distributed in the form of photo copies. This facilitates "cutting and pasting" so that signatures and letterheads from authentic documents can be combined with a fabricated text. The letter supposedly sent from Aviation Personnel International to the South African Air Force (Fig. 6) was prepared this way; the model was a circular business letter from the company offering its placement services to prospective customers.

Content. Soviet forgeries tend to avoid specific allegations that can be disproved. (Oral disinformation is a more likely vehicle for falsehoods of this sort.) They highlight statements that exacerbate U.S. relations with a target country and reinforce existing tensions or anti-U.S. sentiments. An example is the Aviation Personnel International letter implying U.S. collusion in South African plots against black African countries (Fig. 6). In the false Department of Defense press release on the Falklands, Secretary of Defense Weinberger allegedly refers to "Argentina's stubborn and selfish attitude" in the conflict (Fig. 7).

Impact

The effectiveness of a political forgery often depends as much on the recipient's mental predisposition as on the skills of the forger. Without an inclination to accept as authentic documents which reinforce existing beliefs and opinions, most forgeries would have little impact. The typical telltale patterns—anonymous surfacing, technical and linguistic aberrations, news value and timeliness, and contribution to Soviet policy and propaganda goals—would suggest to impartial readers the need for careful investigation. Behind the repeated acceptance of forgeries that already have been exposed, such as the holocaust papers or the fake field manual, lie the prejudices of the deceived.

Many forgeries aimed at the media never achieve uncritical publication or do so only in openly procommunist vehicles. But the risk is low. A forgery can be denounced, but once published it assumes a credibility of its own and can create the impression that "where there is smoke, there is fire." An illustration of the long-term, subliminal effect of calculated fabrications turned up in Finland's largest circulation daily, *Helsingin Sanomat*, in September 1982. A letter to the editor, signed by three doctors with no known communist connections, indicated an acceptance of the holocaust documents as authentic, despite their repeated exposure.

ANNEXES: Recent Forgeries

Figure 1: Holocaust Papers
Figure 2: Destabilization Field Manual
Figure 3: Greek Coup: Clark-Stearns Letter
Figure 4: NATO Nuclear Deployments: Haig-Luns Letter
Figure 5: Gas Pipeline Memo
Figure 6: South Africa: Aviation Personnel International Letter
Figure 7: The Falklands: Department of Defense Press Release
Figure 8: Mediterranean Air Safety: U.S. Military Memo on NATO Exercises
Figure 9: F–5 Offer to South Africa: Northrop Sales Letter
Figure 10: Downstream Operations

FIGURE 1
Holocaust Papers

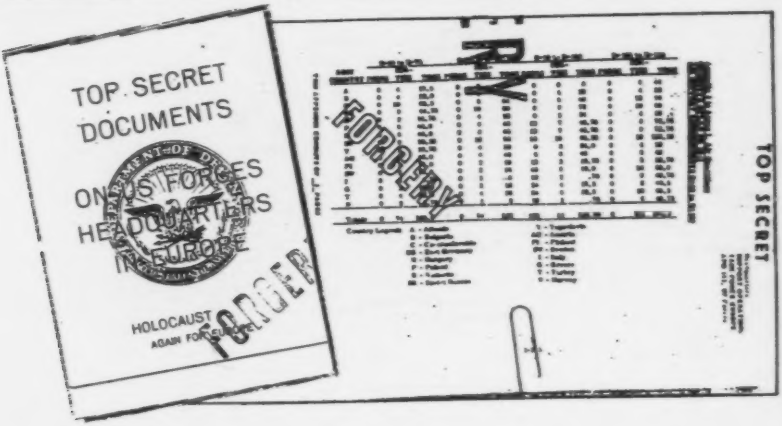
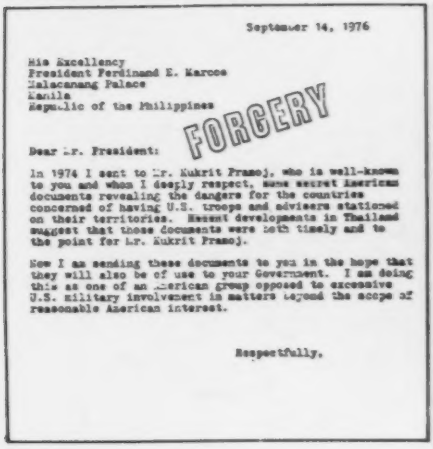


FIGURE 2
Destabilization Field Manual



September 14, 1976

His Excellency
President Ferdinand E. Marcos
Malacanang Palace
Manila
Republic of the Philippines

FORGERY

Dear Mr. President:

In 1974 I sent to Mr. Kukrit Pramoj, who is well-known to you and whom I deeply respect, some secret American documents revealing the dangers for the countries concerned of having U.S. troops and advisers stationed on their territories. Recent developments in Thailand suggest that those documents were both timely and to the point for Mr. Kukrit Pramoj.

Now I am sending these documents to you in the hope that they will also be of use to your Government. I am doing this as one of an American group opposed to excessive U.S. military involvement in matters beyond the scope of reasonable American interest.

Respectfully,

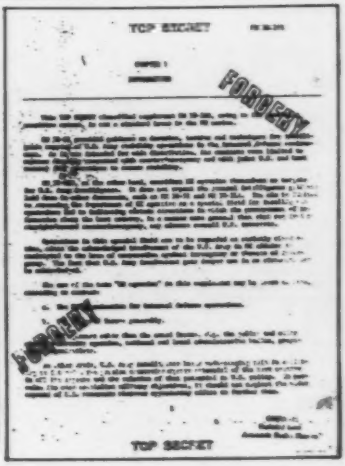
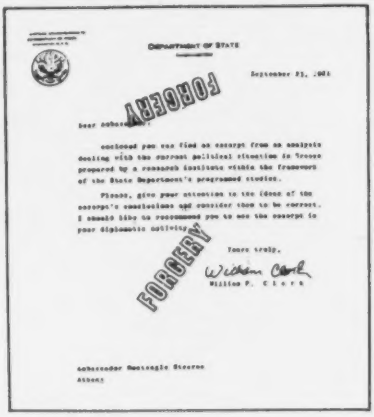


FIGURE 3
Greek Coup: Clark-Stearns Letter

Description: The forgery purports to be a letter from William Clark, then Deputy Secretary of State, to the U.S. Ambassador to Greece, Monteagle Stearns, and an accompanying one-page intelligence study.

Purpose: This forgery is intended to harm U.S. relations with the Greek Government of Andreas Papandreou. It is dated shortly before his election and alludes to a possible military coup in the event of a Papandreou victory.

Surfacing: In January 1982, several months after the elections, unsuccessful attempts were made to have the letter published in Athens. A few weeks later, after copies were circulated at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Madrid, the Athens daily *Vrathini* published a story casting doubt on the letter's authenticity and described it as probably the work of a "third-country intelligence service." Copies of the forgery were mailed to Athens newspapers in plain envelopes without return address.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FORGERY

September 23, 1981

Dear Ambassador:

enclosed you can find an excerpt from an analysis dealing with the current political situation in Greece prepared by a research institute within the framework of the State Department's programmed studies.

Please, give your attention to the ideas of the excerpt's conclusions and consider them to be correct. I should like to recommend you to use the excerpt in your diplomatic activity.

FORGERY

Yours truly,

William Clark

William P. Clark

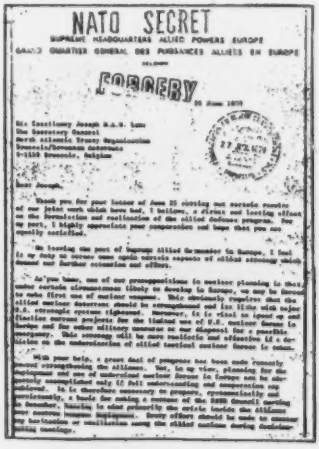
Ambassador Monteagle Stearns
Athens

FIGURE 4
NATO Nuclear Deployments: Haig-Luns Letter

Description: This letter, dated just before Gen. Haig left his position as NATO commander in 1979, concerns nuclear policy. It discusses a possible nuclear first strike and calls for "action of a sensitive nature" to "jolt the faint hearted" in Europe. Technically, the quality is professional, but it includes mistakes—such as "Dear Joseph" instead of the "Dear Joe" used habitually by Gen. Haig.

Purpose: The letter is intended to stimulate the nuclear disarmament campaign by suggesting a Haig-Luns collusion against opponents to the modernization of nuclear forces in Europe.

Surfacing: The forgery was first published in the April 22, 1982, edition of the Belgium leftist weekly *De Nieuwe*. It was also reported on Belgian television and radio. In May the forgery was reprinted in the newspaper of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, despite its having been branded a forgery. Its appearance coincided with numerous antinuclear demonstrations in the spring of 1982.



NATO SECRET

SUPREME HEADQUARTERS ALLIED POWERS EUROPE

GRAND QUARTIER GENERAL DES PUISSANCES ALLIEES EN EUROPE

FORGERY

Mr. Lieutenant Joseph R.A.N. Luns
The Secretary General
North Atlantic Treaty Organization
Bruxelles/Brussels Autoroute
B-1110 Brussels, Belgium

Dear Joseph,

Thank you for your letter of June 25 giving me certain routine of our later work which have had, I believe, a direct and lasting effect on the formulation and realization of the allied defense program. For my part, I highly appreciate your cooperation and hope that you are equally satisfied.

On leaving the post of Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, I feel it my duty to express some again certain aspects of allied strategy which concern our further occupation and others.

As you know, one of our presuppositions in nuclear planning in the under certain circumstances likely to develop in Europe, we may be forced to make first use of nuclear weapons. This obviously requires that the allied nuclear deterrent should be strengthened and its title with major flexible nuclear strategic systems rightsmat. Moreover, it is vital to speed up and finalize current projects for the limited use of U.S. nuclear forces in Europe and for other military measures at our disposal for a possible emergency. This strategy will be more realistic and effective if a decision on the modernization of allied tactical nuclear forces is taken.

With your help, a great deal of progress has been made recently toward strengthening the Alliance. But, in my view, planning for the deployment and use of modernized nuclear forces in Europe can be adequately accomplished only if full understanding and cooperation are achieved. It is therefore necessary to prepare, systematically and particularly, a basis for making a success of the NATO Council meeting in December, hoping to adopt primarily the principle inside the Alliance over nuclear weapon deployment. Every effort should be made to counteract any backsliding or vacillation among the allied nuclear during forthcoming meeting meetings.

FIGURE 5
Gas Pipeline Memo

Description: This forgery purports to be a Department of Commerce memorandum dated February 18, 1982, which records the recommendations of an alleged "Special Presidential Working Group on Strategic Economic Policy." It discusses the effects of abrogating the gas pipeline arrangement between the U.S.S.R. and some West European countries. While the technical quality is high, it contains some lapses, including the misspelling of the name of the Secretary of Commerce in a memo supposedly signed by the Secretary and intended for the President's attention.

Purpose: The forgery distorts U.S. economic policy and is intended to add to frictions between the United States and its West European allies over the gas pipeline issue.

Surfacing: The document was mailed in plain envelopes to newsmen and officials of the European Economic Community in late May 1982 just before the Versailles economic summit.

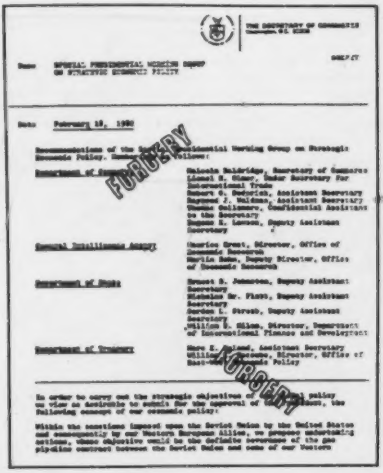


FIGURE 6
South Africa: Aviation Personnel International Letter

Description: This fabricated letter is addressed to Lt. Gen. Muller of the South African Air Force and uses the letterhead of a New Orleans-based company specializing in the placement of aviation personnel. It refers to the recruitment of combat-trained helicopter pilots with U.S. Government encouragement and implies U.S. complicity in the failed coup attempt of November 1981 in the Seychelles Islands. The language is somewhat stilted. Letterhead and signature come from an Aviation Personnel International form letter addressed to prospective jobseekers in which the forged text and address have been substituted. Aviation Personnel International has exposed the forgery in a sworn affidavit before the U.S. District Court of New Orleans.

Purpose: The text lends spurious evidence to support a number of Soviet disinformation themes: covert U.S.-South African military arrangements; U.S.-sponsored efforts to overthrow black African governments; and U.S. responsibility for the Seychelles coup attempt of November 1981.

Surfacing: The forged letter appeared in several African newspapers in June 1982.

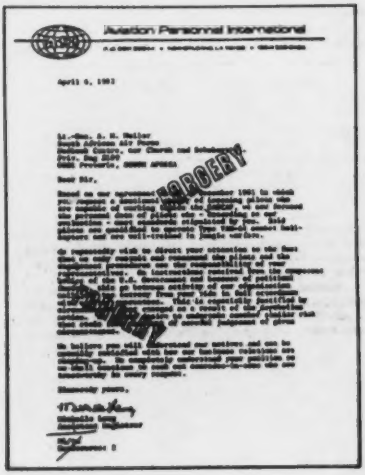


FIGURE 7
The Falklands: Department of Defense Press Release

Description: The purported press release attributes provocative comments to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger regarding the Falklands crisis. It contains a number of awkward phrases and misusages. For example, there is a reference to "the stubborn policy of Argentina, Peru, Venezuela and Brazilia." In Russian, "Brazilia" is the word for "Brazil". The real Department of Defense press release No. 217-82 concerned contract awards by the Defense Communications Agency.

Purpose: The undiplomatic nature of these fabricated comments was intended to impair U.S. relations not only with Latin America but also with Great Britain—there is an implication of a U.S. intrusion into British domestic politics. Specific themes parallel those of Soviet propaganda at the time: the press release states, for example, that U.S. support for Great Britain will lead to the establishment of a U.S. military base "from which we will assert our control of the whole of Latin American Continent."

Surfacing: This forgery was probably not intended for publication. Copies circulated in Washington, D.C. among diplomats accredited to the Organization of American States. It may have been reported to Latin American capitals through diplomatic channels.

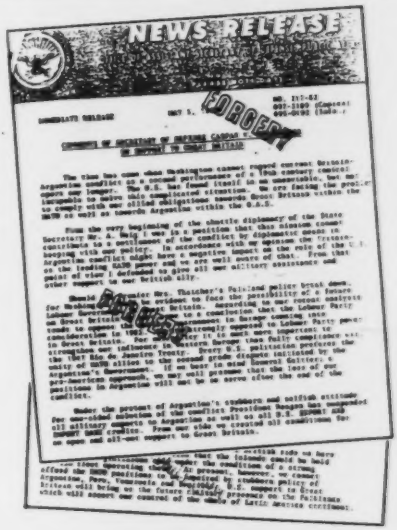


FIGURE 8
Mediterranean Air Safety: Military Memo on NATO Exercises

Description: This forgery consists of a photo copy of the cover page of a classified military handbook and an unrelated one-page forged document on allied training exercises originating from "Headquarters, Support Operations, Task Force Europe." It implies that NATO exercises have been responsible for civil aviation accidents in Italy in 1980 and 1982. The forgery contains a number of errors. For example, the address is given as "APO 163, U.S. Forces"; all Army Post Offices are designated by a five-number series.

Purpose: The Italian leftwing press has been speculating that crashes of civilian aircraft, attributed to pilot error, in fact may have been downed during NATO training exercises. The forgery was intended to supply "evidence" to bolster this disinformation effort.

Surfacing: In July the forgery was mailed to several news agencies in Italy. The envelopes had no return address. On July 23, a number of Italian newspapers carried an ANSA news agency story identifying the document as fraudulent.

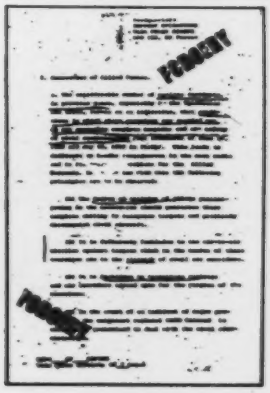
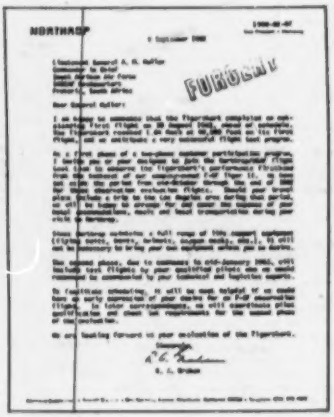


FIGURE 9
F-5 Offer to South Africa: Northrop Sales Letter

Description: In the fall of 1982 the Northrop Corporation sent letters to prospective customers inviting them to observe flight tests of the company's F-5F "Tiger Shark" aircraft. The forgery substituted a false addressee, the commander of the South African Air Force, an alteration easily done with reproduction equipment. The addressee, Lt. Gen. A.M. Muller, is the same as on the Aviation Personnel International forgery.

Purpose: The letter is intended to show that Northrop, presumably with the blessing of the U.S. Government, is violating the embargo on arms sales to South Africa.

Surfacing: The letter was published as authentic in *Jeune Afrique*, a newsweekly published in Paris in its November 17, 1982 edition. In its January 19, 1983 edition, *Jeune Afrique* published photocopies of the forgery, along with a letter from Northrop denying its authenticity, but the story declined to pass on the question of validity. The forgery also appeared in the *Times of Zambia* on January 10, 1983. In both cases the photo copy of the envelope allegedly mailed from Northrop's headquarters in Hawthorne, California, showed a 20 cent stamp, not the correct international postage.


NORTHROP

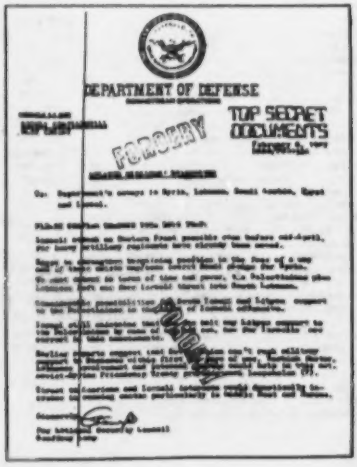
FORGERY

FIGURE 10
Downstream Operations

Description: This forgery is a fabricated Department of Defense document dated February 8, 1982, entitled "Related Missions' Directives." The letterhead bears an outsized Defense Department seal and the ZIP code (20402) of the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office. It contains many grammatical errors, misspellings, and other telltale indications of its spurious nature.

Purpose: It is intended as "evidence" of U.S.-Israeli collaboration in planning the invasion of Lebanon. This assertion coincides with Soviet propaganda charges.

Surfacing: It was apparently not intended for publication but circulated in a number of Arab countries and among Arab communities in Europe in the fall of 1982.


DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

TOP SECRET DOCUMENTS

FORGERY

13. The maintenance of a calm situation in and around Berlin and the strict observance and full implementation of the Quadripartite Agreement of 3rd September, 1971, including unimpeded traffic on the access routes, remain of fundamental importance for East-West relations.

Recalling their Rome statement of 5th May, 1981, the Allies express the hope that the efforts of the Federal Republic of Germany towards further practical progress in Inner-German relations and towards improvements for travel in both directions will bring direct benefits for Berlin and the German people in both states.

14. The Allies reiterate their abhorrence and condemnation of recurring terrorist acts which menace democratic institutions as well as the conduct of international relations. The Allies reaffirm their determination to pursue all necessary efforts to combat and suppress crimes of terrorism.

15. The Ministers note that since their last meeting several aspects of East-West economic relations have been studied including the security implications of these relations. Trade conducted on the basis of commercially sound terms and mutual advantage, that avoids preferential treatment of the Soviet Union, contributes to constructive East-West relations. At the same time, bilateral economic relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe must remain consistent with broad Allied security concerns. These include avoiding dependence on the Soviet Union, or contributing to Soviet military capabilities. Thus, development of Western energy resources should be encouraged, in order to avoid further use by the Soviet Union of some forms of trade to enhance its military strength. the Allies will remain vigilant in their continuing review of the security aspects of East-West economic relations. This work will assist Allied governments in the conduct of their policies in this field.[5]

16. Sustained economic recovery in the West is essential since the strength and security of the member countries rest upon social stability and progress as well as upon defence preparedness. In accordance with Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty the Allies will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration among them. The Allies reaffirm the importance of this commitment and of support from programmes which are intended to benefit the economies of less favoured partners.

17. The Allies will continue to work for the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations and will promote conditions of stability and well-being. The aid which they give bilaterally and multilaterally is an important contribution to this end. Countries in the Third World should have the freedom to develop politically, economically and socially without outside interference. The Allies urge respect for sovereignty and genuine non-alignment.

The Allies recognize that events outside the Treaty area may affect their common interests as members of the Alliance. If it is established that their common interests are involved, they will engage in timely consultation. Sufficient military capabilities must be assured in the Treaty area to maintain an adequate defence posture. Individual member governments who are in a position to do so will endeavour to support, at their request, sovereign nations whose security and independence are threatened. Those Allies in a position to facilitate the deployment of forces outside the Treaty area may do so on the basis of national decision.

The Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs informed the North Atlantic Council of the present state of the review that the Spanish Government has undertaken regarding its participation in the Alliance, pending which he reserved his government's position on the present Communiqué.

At the same time, however, the Spanish Minister expressed that his Government shares in the Communiqué in so far as it reflects positions already expressed by Spain in her relations with the member countries of the Alliance.

The Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs repeated Danish Government support for the double-track decision but at the same time he presented to his colleagues the motion passed by the Folketing on 28th May.

[1]Press release 212 of June 14, 1982.
[2]Greece reserves its position on this paragraph (footnote in original text).
[3]Greece reserves its position on paragraph 7 (footnote in original text).
[4]Greece recalls its position as it has been expressed during the previous Ministerial Session (footnote in original text).
[5]Greece recalled its position on various aspects of this paragraph (footnote in original text). ■

Unacceptable Intervention: Soviet Active Measures

by Lawrence S. Eagleburger

The following article is reprinted from NATO Review, *Volume 31, No. 1, 1983. Ambassador Eagleburger is Under Secretary for Political Affairs.*

In recent times, the Soviet term "active measures" (aktivnyye meropriyatiya) has caught the public's attention. The phrase describes a range of deceptive techniques—such as front groups, disinformation, forgeries, press manipulations, and agents of influence—which are used routinely in the Soviet Union's conduct of foreign relations. No phrase in English conveys precisely the meaning of "active measures." Perhaps World War II psychological warfare operations provide the closest parallel.

Active measures are used against virtually all countries outside the Soviet bloc, although communist countries such as North Korea and China are targets, as well as members of NATO. A sampling from the recent public record shows the variety of such activities:

- A Soviet Ambassador expelled from New Zealand in 1980 after he was caught handing money to the local Moscow-line Communist Party;
- A French author and journalist convicted for acting as a Soviet agent of influence for almost 20 years;
- A large-scale media disinformation effort to undermine U.S.-sponsored efforts to solve the Namibia conflict;
- The exposure of more than a dozen forgeries, mostly fabricated U.S. Government documents or letters, during 1982;
- A media campaign involving covertly planted stories and forgeries falsely accusing the United States of supporting the November 1981 coup attempt in the Seychelles; and
- Radio stations pretending to speak for opposition political factions in China and Iran but broadcasting from unacknowledged locations within the U.S.S.R.

Inside View

While this list of publicly exposed active measures can be expanded greatly, intelligence services throughout the world are aware of many more that have not been revealed to the public, either because this could compromise sensitive sources or because of political or diplomatic considerations.

Nor are active measures a new addition to the Soviet political repertoire. In the 1920s, Soviet political operatives infiltrated Russian emigré organizations in the West to set them squabbling among themselves. During the 1930s, Soviet agents manipulated front groups, skillfully camouflaging Moscow's hand until the Hitler-Stalin pact in August 1939. At the time, a veteran communist organizer working for the Comintern, Willi Munzenberg, spoke cynically of these fronts as "innocents' clubs." An early postwar Soviet disinformation campaign orchestrated false charges of U.S. use of "germ warfare" during the Korean war.

On occasion, we get a glimpse of active measures from the Soviet side. The defection of former KGB Major Stanislav Levchenko, who coordinated active measures in Japan from 1975 to 1979 while nominally a correspondent for *New Times*, and who for a while was Acting Chief of the KGB's active measures group in Japan, yields such an opportunity. Levchenko recalls in his recently released testimony before the U.S. Congress several successful forgery and disinformation operations. He states that during the 1970s, the KGB influenced Japanese politics through numerous agents of influence including a former cabinet minister, Members of Parliament, and prominent journalists. Levchenko estimated that the Tokyo KGB residency received several hundred active measures directives each year. Of these, according to Levchenko, it was able to implement successfully about one-third.

The exposure by Danish authorities of the clandestine relationship between the KGB and Arne Herløv Petersen, an author and journalist, provides another glimpse into active measures operations. In the summer of 1981, the Soviets arranged to cover Petersen's expenses for placing a series of advertisements in which Danish artists expressed support for a Nordic nuclear weapons-free zone. On one occasion, Petersen delivered to the North Korean Embassy foreign policy documents which were supplied by the Soviet Embassy and which, on instructions, he misrepresented as coming from an American source. In another typical disinformation ploy, Petersen published a pamphlet attacking British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the text of the pamphlet having been supplied by the Soviet Embassy. As the Danish Government statement on the case noted, it was typical of these efforts to influence public debate that the Soviet origin of the opinions was concealed in order to preserve their effectiveness. Vladimir Merkulov, a KGB officer serving as a Second Secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Copenhagen, was exposed as Petersen's clandestine contact and was expelled from Denmark in October 1981 for improper conduct.

Large Bureaucratic Structure

A large organizational structure in the U.S.S.R. sustains the active measures effort. The covert arm of active measures is Service A of the KGB's First Chief (Foreign Intelligence) Directorate. In the field, any KGB officer or intelligence asset may be used to implement active measures, and in the larger KGB residencies there are specialized groups, as in Tokyo, concerned with these covert operations. Active measures techniques are an integral part of the training of all KGB case officers.

In formulating these operations, Service A works closely with the International Department and the International Information Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Other elements of the Soviet structure such as magazines, radio stations, and Aeroflot are all called upon as need arises.

The International Information Department supervises Soviet foreign propaganda activities and thus is crucial to active measures operations. For example, the Soviet propaganda machinery commonly rediseminates misleading and tendentious stories that were originally placed in foreign press outlets by KGB assets. The technique allows the Soviet propagandists to give extensive coverage to false stories which have the seeming legitimacy of having originated in a foreign—and ostensibly unbiased—press organ. Propaganda organs also support active measures operations by trumpeting the campaign themes of front groups. Publications such as *New Times* are in the forefront of the effort, as are Radio Moscow and the purportedly unofficial Radio Peace and Progress.

The International Department is responsible for liaison with foreign communist parties and communist front organizations. It persuades or commands communist parties abroad to undertake political and propaganda actions in support of particular active measures campaigns. Front groups such as the various Soviet friendship societies, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, and the World Federation of Trade Unions are controlled by the International Department through Soviet counterpart organizations.

One front, the World Peace Council (WPC), was expelled from France and from Austria for activities directed against its hosts. Finally it succeeded in establishing a headquarters in Helsinki in 1957. For more than 30 years, WPC positions on international issues have invariably coincided with those of the Soviet Union: the WPC approved past Soviet military interventions in Hungary and Czechoslovakia as well as the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. Support of Soviet aggression, however, has not prevented it from serving as the Soviet stalking-horse in a number of "peace" movements, ranging from the Stockholm appeal to "ban the bomb" in 1950 and the 1977 campaign against the "neutron bomb," to today's agitation against INF [intermediate-range nuclear force] modernization.

Since the bulk of the WPC's financing comes from Soviet sources, some noncommunist peace movement supporters, by accepting WPC cooperation in their activities, have been receiving indirect Soviet support. It is distressing that Moscow is able to take part in the West's public debate on the defense measures needed to offset the Soviet threat through use of a mechanism as transparent as the WPC.

Assessing Effect of Active Measures

How effective is the active measures effort? There is no simple answer. Not only is it impossible to run controlled experiments, but the deception inherent in active measures complicates an assessment. Moreover, active measures are not used independently, but in coordination with other elements of Soviet foreign policy such as diplomatic, commercial, informational, and military activities. The contribution of active measures to the end result is not easy to isolate.

Clearly, however, the Soviet leadership believes they are effective. The manpower and money required to construct and operate a worldwide active measures infrastructure of fronts and agents are substantial. We consider it probable that the Soviet campaign against the "neutron bomb"—which they regard as one of their most successful—cost some $100 million. From the Soviet perspective, the money was well spent. The U.S.S.R. was able to distort the public debate on the topic and direct attention from the massive Soviet military buildup and the clear threat to European security posed by Warsaw Pact conventional forces—the threat

which enhanced radiation weapons can so effectively counter. But besides direct monetary costs, the Soviets also are willing to expend prestige and good will as their hand in some active measures operations inevitably is exposed. This indirect cost goes beyond immediate embarrassment; over the longer term, the U.S.S.R.'s use of deceptive and manipulative techniques increases disenchantment with the Soviet model.

While it is obvious that the Soviets believe the game is worth the candle, we should attempt our own independent evaluation. Active measures are not magic, nor does the world dance to a covert Soviet tune. Moscow does not dominate the political processes of the Western democracies. Nonetheless, the persistent Soviet attempts to influence our political agenda are not always without effect. This is especially true when Soviet active measures are designed to magnify and channel the sincere concerns of noncommunist critics of official Western government policies. Moreover, these efforts tend to exacerbate internal divisions in our societies, a long-standing Soviet goal.

In developing countries, the impact is greater. Their governments, often unstable, economically stressed and lacking tested political institutions, are more vulnerable to covert manipulation. Beyond the occasional contribution of active measures to the bringing to power of a government under Moscow's influence, these techniques tend to increase the insecurity of legitimate governments and distract their leaders' attention from their primary task—development. The tenuous state of free press institutions in many of these states and the plain fact that journalism in less developed countries is often an unremunerative profession provide favorable ground for Soviet manipulations.

Corrosive Effect on Open Political Systems

In both developed and developing countries, beyond the success, or lack of it, of particular operations, active measures have a corrosive effect on open political systems. The confusions produced by media manipulations, forgeries, calculated rumors, falsely attributed radio broadcasts, and the activities of agents of influence may, over time, weaken public confidence in political institutions and processes.

In view of the historical record and the substantial bureaucracy that supports these activities, we do not expect the Soviet active measures program to

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
Washington, D.C. 20230

SECRET

Memo SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL WORKING GROUP ON STRATEGIC ECONOMIC POLICY

Date February 18, 1982

Recommendations of the Special Presidential Working Group on Strategic Economic Policy. Membership is as follows:

Department of Commerce — Malcolm Baldridge, Secretary of Commerce; Lionel H. Olmer, Under Secretary for International Trade; Robert G. Dederick, Assistant Secretary; Raymond J. Waldman, Assistant Secretary; Thomas Collamore, Confidential Assistant to the Secretary; Eugene K. Lawson, Deputy Assistant Secretary

Central Intelligence Agency — Maurice Ernst, Director, Office of Economic Research; Martin Lenn, Deputy Director, Office of Economic Research

Department of State — Ernest B. Johnston, Deputy Assistant Secretary; Nicholas Dr. Platt, Deputy Assistant Secretary; Gordon L. Streab, Deputy Assistant Secretary; William B. Hilms, Director, Department of International Finance and Development

Department of Treasury — Marc E. Leland, Assistant Secretary; William [illegible], Director, Office of East-West Economic Policy

FORGERY

In order to carry out the strategic objectives of our national security policy we view as desirable to submit for the approval of the President, the following concept of our economic policy:

While the enormous interest upon the Soviet Union by the United States and consequently by our Western European Allies, we propose undertaking actions, whose objective would be the definite severance of the gas pipeline contract between the Soviet Union and some of our Western

Forged Secretary of Commerce memorandum, dated Feb. 18, 1982, recommending actions to sever the gas pipeline contract between the U.S.S.R. and several West European allies of the United States. The memorandum states that, among other advantages, this measure will weaken the economies of the European countries concerned and make them more dependent on the United States.

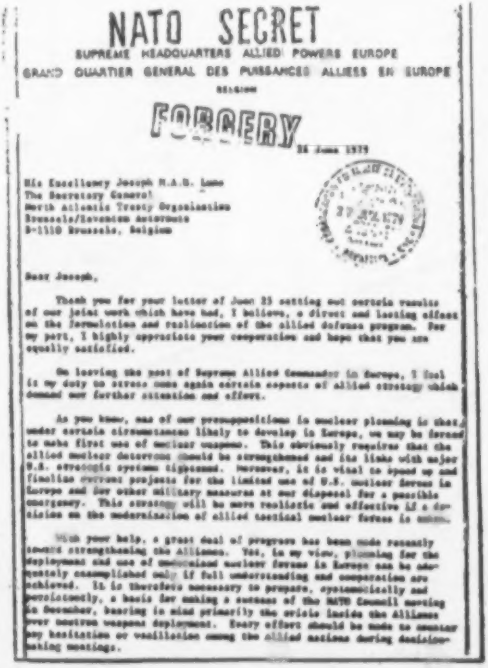
respond to variations in the international climate. They did not, for example, show a noticeable decline in the peak period of détente in the 1970s. Rather, the use of these offensive techniques, which seek to harm countries which the Soviets perceive as adversaries, is an indicator of underlying hostility. As such, active measures should remain a cause of concern to the alliance. Conversely, the cessation of these activities would remove a significant obstacle to improved relations.

Before addressing the question of how to counter Soviet active measures, it is useful to discuss an attitude that does not contribute, in the view of the U.S. Government, to a useful approach.

This is the "ho-hum" response to Soviet active measures usually presented in terms such as: "We all know that the Soviets engage in dirty tricks, so what is new? Why get excited?" The implication is that it is naive to concern oneself with such activities since they are an inevitable, but trivial, element in the Soviets' international conduct.

This approach prejudges the question of the importance of Soviet active measures and, by discounting it in advance, works against a realistic appraisal. Active measures, by definition, involve deception, and their effectiveness and seriousness vary in time and place. Only careful examination can produce a balanced assessment. Belittling the problem impairs needed efforts to limit the effectiveness of Soviet active measures.

It is worth considering basic asymmetries in the situations of East and West with respect to active measures. The closely controlled Soviet political system offers little scope for covert manipulation. Agents of influence are not going to penetrate or disorient the structures of "democratic centralism." The controlled press of the U.S.S.R. offer limited opportunities for external influence. Western societies, on the other hand, are open to diverse political influences, including those deceptively introduced in the service of Soviet foreign policy. In Western countries, the use of most active measures techniques does not carry a criminal penalty for fear of imposing limits on legitimate political expression. Moreover, unlike the West, if a clandestine effort goes awry in the totalitarian society of the Soviet Union, there is no political opposition to take advantage of the rulers' embarrassment, and an obedient press will keep the failure off the public record. The answer to the "everybody does it" attitude is that active measures are a field in which



NATO SECRET

SUPREME HEADQUARTERS ALLIED POWERS EUROPE

GRAND QUARTIER GENERAL DES PUISSANCES ALLIEES EN EUROPE

FORGERY

24 June 1975

His Excellency Joseph M.A.H. Luns
The Secretary General
North Atlantic Treaty Organization
Brussels/Evere Aerodrome
B-1110 Brussels, Belgium

Dear Joseph,

Thank you for your letter of June 23 setting out certain results of our joint work which have had, I believe, a direct and lasting effect on the formulation and realization of the allied defense program. For my part, I highly appreciate your cooperation and hope that you are equally satisfied.

On leaving the post of Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, I feel it my duty to stress once again certain aspects of allied strategy which demand our further attention and effort.

As you know, one of our presuppositions in nuclear planning is that, under certain circumstances likely to develop in Europe, we may be forced to make first use of nuclear weapons. This obviously requires that the allied nuclear deterrent should be strengthened and its links with major U.S. strategic systems tightened. Moreover, it is vital to speed up and finalize current projects for the limited use of U.S. nuclear forces in Europe and for other military measures at our disposal for a possible emergency. This strategy will be more realistic and effective if a decision on the modernization of allied tactical nuclear forces is [illegible].

With your help, a great deal of progress has been made recently toward strengthening the Alliance. Yet, in my view, planning for the deployment and use of modernized nuclear forces in Europe can be substantially accomplished only if full understanding and cooperation are achieved. It is therefore necessary to prepare, systematically and persistently, a basis for making a success of the NATO Council meeting in December, bearing in mind primarily the crisis inside the Alliance over neutron weapons deployment. Every effort should be made to counter any hesitation or vacillation among the allied nations during decision-making meetings.

Forged letter from departing NATO Commander Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., to NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns, dated June 24, 1975. It was calculated to stimulate European opposition to intermediate-range nuclear force (INF) modernization by distorting NATO strategy and playing on European fears of a limited nuclear conflict in Europe.

democratic systems cannot effectively compete.

In democracies, certainly in the United States, all opinions, including the advocacy of positions that correspond with those of foreign adversaries, are fully and properly protected by law. Efforts to contain active measures interventions, except in cases of illegal acts committed on behalf of a foreign power, should focus on the foreign agents of deception, not on citizens who hold exotic opinions. Quite the contrary, we regard the free competition of ideas, whatever their origin, not only as a fundamental attraction of our societies but as the well spring of democratic vigor. The resort by the Soviet Union and its proxies to active measures is a tacit admission of weakness. It is because their ideology cannot stand on its merits that they rely so heavily on deception and psychological warfare in competition in the international arena.

Need for Persistent Response

The soundest response to the Soviet use of active measures is to keep our balance. It is as unwise to ignore the threat as it is to become obsessed with the myth of a super Soviet conspiracy manipulating our essential political processes. We should keep in mind that active measures are only one aspect of our complex relationship with the Soviet Union.

The foundation of a sound Western answer to active measures is understanding the problem. This involves the collection and analysis of relevant information. It is not only an intelligence matter, however, as the purpose of active measures is both political and psychological. Another complication is that active measures transcend national borders; a forgery targeted to harm the interests of one country may be surfaced half a world away. Disinformation campaigns involve media in many countries. These and other problems are not insurmountable obstacles to a greatly improved understanding of the worldwide pattern of active measures if we align our antennae to face the challenge.

Since the Soviets are committed to active measures as a regular instrument of foreign policy, it must be viewed as a problem for the long run. Sudden enthusiasms to expose their dirty tricks followed by troughs of apathy are not the answer. A reasoned and effective response must be persistent and continuing, and this is best achieved by a growing public understanding and emerging consensus on the significance of these activities. Governments also have the responsibility to protect their sovereignty from active measures distortions by exposing and removing the foreign instruments of intervention, such as the diplomat who engages in improper activities or the foreign journalist whose position is a cover for disinformation activities.

But our response must not be limited to effective counterintelligence, important as that may be. Active measures need to be countered by public exposure. They are infections that thrive only in darkness, and sunlight is the best antiseptic. Governments should make available to their publics as much as possible of our growing knowledge of Soviet practices. Needless to say, any exposure of covert Soviet manipulations has to meet the highest standards of accuracy.

Publicity serves a number of purposes. Our publics need the best information to perform their democratic duties. Moreover, awareness of Soviet practices helps citizens to avoid becoming the victims of specific active measures operations. Publicity also acts as a disincentive to the U.S.S.R. by increasing the price of failure. Conversely, a tacit acceptance of the Soviets' use of active measures would encourage them to bolder actions.

To sum up, the Soviet Union uses active measures extensively and has created a large bureaucracy to implement these activities. While not an immediate, mortal threat to the West, they are harmful, although the precise degree is difficult to determine. Whatever danger active measures pose, their continuing use in itself is an obvious obstacle to improved relations with the Soviet Union. While recognizing that active measures are but one aspect of our complex relationship, common sense requires that we counter these intrusions not only through effective counterintelligence but by keeping our citizens as fully informed as possible of the deceptive practices to which they are exposed. Much as we would like to see active measures eliminated from the conduct of foreign affairs, we must realistically accept the implications of these hostile Soviet activities and contain them to the best of our ability. ■

Foreign Affairs Note

United States Department of State
Washington, D.C.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS: SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY TOOL

August 1983

The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) was founded in Paris on October 3, 1945, in the brief postwar era of good feeling between the victorious Western nations and the Soviet Union. The British Trades Union Congress, the American Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), and the Soviet Union's All Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) were the principal architects of the WFTU. However, by 1949—following the WFTU's communist-engineered attack on the Marshall Plan—all the Western trade unions except the communist-dominated ones had left the organization. In a 1949 declaration, the CIO stated that the "WFTU is no longer a trade union organization, but is entirely dominated by communists and their puppets, and little more than an instrument of the Soviet government." The major democratic trade centrals, including the U.S. American Federation of Labor (AF of L),[1] thereupon formed the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).[2]

In 1951 the French Government charged the WFTU with conducting "subversive activities" and expelled its headquarters from Paris. In 1956 the Government of Austria expelled the WFTU headquarters from its second home, Vienna, for "endangering Austrian neutrality." The WFTU has since been headquartered in Prague.

The WFTU has developed into one of the Soviet Union's most significant front organizations, reflecting Marxist ideological emphasis on the importance of the working class in the "evolving world order." Only the World Peace Council, with which the WFTU maintains close relations, compares with it. As with other front organizations, some deviation from the strict Soviet line occasionally is tolerated as the price for the continued membership of Western communist-controlled labor unions, such as the French Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT), and Third World labor organizations. The history of the WFTU, however, demonstrates that Soviet tolerance of deviations is limited.

[1] The AF of L, which merged with the CIO to form the AFL-CIO in 1955, did not join the WFTU in 1945. Its longstanding policy has been to avoid relations with communist "trade union" organizations because it does not consider them to be legitimate representatives of the communist-state working class.

[2] The ICFTU was founded in London in December 1949 by delegates from 59 countries dissatisfied with Soviet domination of the WFTU. Membership is open to all trade union organizations "independent of any outside domination, deriving their authority only from their members, with a freely and democratically elected leadership. . . ." Unions in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, being under government control, are not eligible for membership. Most ICFTU members belong to West European labor centrals with a social-democratic heritage. The AFL-CIO disaffiliated in 1969 but rejoined in 1982. Claiming to represent more than 66 million members in 134 affiliates, the ICFTU is headquartered in Brussels.

Historical Background

The WFTU's original 1945 constitution proclaimed its main objective to be the improvement of the living and working conditions of all peoples of the world. Just what this meant to the communist members, however, became clear shortly after U.S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall's June 1947 speech proposing a huge U.S. effort (later known as the Marshall Plan) to help reconstruct Europe. Nine days later, the WFTU General Council issued, without the consent of the noncommunist members, a response that firmly aligned the organization with the communist camp:

> Capitalist monopolies are making use of their economic power to intensify the exploitation of labor. They seek to impose unacceptable and anti-democratic political conditions before economic aid is extended to countries devastated by war.

This response, predating even the Soviet's Union's rejection of the Marshall Plan, was the first strong signal to the West of Soviet plans for the WFTU. Together with the WFTU's attempt to dominate existing international trade secretariats, opposition to the Marshall Plan resulted in the crisis of democratic disaffiliation from the Organization and then totalitarian control of the WFTU.

Since that time the WFTU has followed the Soviet line as closely as possible without losing all its Western communist and Third World affiliates.

- In 1950 the WFTU's Executive Committee expelled the Yugoslav trade unions, reflecting the Yugoslav-Soviet dispute. WFTU publications claimed the "Tito clique" had transformed Yugoslavia "into a base for imperialist aggression against the U.S.S.R. . . . " (After Yugoslav-Soviet relations improved in the 1970s, the WFTU invited the Yugoslavs to rejoin.)
- In 1953 it supported the Soviet military action in East Germany.
- In 1956 the WFTU approved extreme Soviet pressure on a restless Poland and the Soviet invasion and occupation of Hungary.
- In the 1960s the deteriorating Sino-Soviet relationship was dramatically underscored when the Chinese and their Albanian allies walked out of the organization, although officially they are still members.
- In 1968 Soviet dominance of the WFTU was evident in the aftermath of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Influenced by its Prague location, the WFTU Secretariat reacted with uncharacteristic anger to the invasion. Pierre Salliant, the French Secretary General, responding to an appeal from the WFTU Czechoslovakian affiliate, circulated a

letter from himself and the Italian WFTU president, Renato Bitossi, condemning the invasion and expressing "full solidarity with the workers and people of Czechoslovakia." The WFTU Secretariat vote to publish the letter triggered a successful Soviet campaign to discipline the organization. Saillant, under heavy pressure to disavow the WFTU letter, pleaded illness and resigned shortly thereafter. He was replaced by the more pliable Pierre Gensous. At the same time, the leadership of the Czech WFTU affiliate was replaced by persons acceptable to the Soviets.

Despite the dissatisfaction of such Western members as the Italian Confederazione Generale Italiana de Lavoro (CGIL), the Czech question was not raised during the 1969 congress in Budapest. This apparently resulted from an agreement whereby the Soviets did not demand a formal retraction of the Saillant-Bitossi letter in exchange for conference silence on Czechoslovakia. The Budapest congress then went on to rewrite WFTU statutes, ensuring that the Secretariat would never again take such "embarrassing" independent action as it had on Czechoslovakia.

Membership and Organization

The WFTU claims to be the largest trade union confederation in the world, with more than 206 million affiliated members encompassing 90 different organizations. Although these organizations exist in many countries, over 70% of the affiliated membership is located in communist states where "union" membership is mandatory for workers. Over half the affiliated membership is derived from the Soviet Union's All Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Consequently, the U.S.S.R. and its allies have an overwhelming voting majority in WFTU deliberations. However, some members of the WFTU, particularly those from the Third World, are not aligned with communist parties.

The WFTU's highest authority is the World Trade Union Congress, which meets every 4 years, most recently in Havana in 1982. This constitutional feature is similar to that of rival democratic confederations, the ICFTU and the World Confederation of Labor (WCL).[3] However, the WFTU's quadrennial congress is unique in that a large number of observers are encouraged to attend and vote on conference resolutions. More than half of the 358 participating organizations at Havana were from nonaffiliated organizations.

Between congresses, the WFTU is directed by a General Council, with representatives from each affiliated trade central, and by an Executive Bureau of 33 members. The last General Council meeting of more than 200 delegates from 81 countries was held in Cyprus in April 1983. The Secretariat in Prague, employing more than 200 people, provides day-to-day direction. It is divided into various regional and functional departments, including a press and propaganda section which publishes *The World Trade Union Movement*, a monthly magazine translated into nine languages, and *Flashes*, a weekly newsletter.

[3] The WCL, the smallest of the internationals, originated in the 1920s when Catholic and Protestant unions appeared as alternatives to socialist and anarchist organizations. Originally it was known as the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions. Members of the organization remained outside the WFTU in 1945 when the latter refused to allow dual affiliation. In 1973 the WCL, which adopted its present name in 1968, claimed 14.5 million affiliated members, but a more likely estimate is 4-5 million. The WCL derives much of its following from the less developed countries. Headquarters are in Brussels.

ACRONYMS

AFL-CIO: American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (U.S.)
AUCCTU: All Union Central Council of Trade Unions (U.S.S.R.)
CGIL: Confederazione Generale Italiana de Lavoro (Italy)
CGT: Confederation Generale du Travail (France)
ICFTU: International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ILO: International Labor Organization (UN)
WCL: World Confederation of Labor
WFTU: World Federation of Trade Unions

Trade Union Internationals. One department of the WFTU is responsible for the 11 Trade Union Internationals,[4] international organizations of unions of the same trades. Unlike their major rival democratic organizations—the International Trade Secretariats associated with the ICFTU—the Trade Union Internationals are controlled by their parent body, the WFTU. However, to lend the appearance of autonomy, the WFTU in 1986 directed each affiliated Trade Union International to write its own constitution. Members generally are drawn from the ranks of WFTU members and frequently are headed by French CGT members.

International Affiliations. The WFTU coordinates closely with the Permanent Committee for Trade Union Unity of Latin America with headquarters in Mexico City, but maintains looser relations with the Organization of African Trade Union Unity and with the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions. The WFTU is trying to strengthen its representation in the Far East where it has a small office in Ho Chi Minh City. It also gives financial support to education centers for trade unionists in Prague (International Trade Union Center), Bernau (Fritz Heckert Institution), Sofia (Georgi Dimitrov Center), and Havana (Lazaro Pena Center). Instruction at these centers concentrates more on political than trade union subjects, according to participants.

The WFTU has official status in several UN-sponsored organizations: Economic and Social Council; International Labor Organization; Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; and the Food and Agriculture Organization.

Funding and Control

The Soviet affiliates support non-Soviets in the positions of General Secretary and President of the WFTU to promote an image of WFTU independence and nonalignment. Before 1978 the Soviets arranged for a French CGT representative to be General Secretary. In 1978, however, nominal dissatisfaction with the WFTU's "rigidity" caused the CGT to withdraw General Secretary Pierre Gensous as a candidate

[4] The Trade Union Internationals are: Agricultural, Forestry and Plantation Workers (headquartered in Prague); Workers of the Building, Wood, and Building Materials Industries (Helsinki); Chemical, Oil and Allied Workers (Budapest); Workers in Commerce (Prague); Workers of the Food, Tobacco and Beverages Industries and Hotel, Cafe and Restaurant Workers (Sofia); Metal and Engineering Workers (Moscow); Miners Trade Unions International (Warsaw); Public and Allied Employees (East Berlin); World Federation of Teachers Unions (East Berlin); Textile, Clothing, Leather and Fur Workers' (Prague); and Transport Workers (Budapest).

for reelection. Enrique Pastorini, a Uruguayan, was elected but retired before the 1982 Havana congress. The present General Secretary, Ibrihim Zakariya of Sudan, then became acting General Secretary before formally assuming the post in Havana. The President of the Executive Bureau is Sandor Gaspar, Secretary General of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions. The most important staff member, one of the five secretaries nominally under Zakariya, is Boris Averyanov, a former international secretary of the Soviet AUCCTU.

There is no public record of the source of WFTU operating funds. Presumably, the Soviet Union is the major contributor both through the AUCCTU and through other channels. Most of the remaining funds come from Eastern-bloc nations, where "trade unions" are under communist party control and governments heed Moscow's wishes.

In turn, the WFTU was reported to have disbursed about $1 million a year during the mid-1970s from its "Solidarity Fund." This fund helps to support trade unions in noncommunist countries, including those in the major developed countries when possible, and to assist "national liberation" struggles.

WFTU Strategy

Trade Union Unity. Using a well-established "united front from above" strategy, the WFTU preaches the need for worldwide trade union unity regardless of ideological differences. To this end, the WFTU has attempted to bring the democratic trade union confederations—the ICFTU and the WCL and their affiliates—into meetings and joint campaigns to establish an all-Europe trade union conference.[6]

According to WFTU Executive Bureau President Gaspar:

> Joint action by the trade unions as a militant contingent of the world labor movement is the path to follow in order to eliminate poverty and hunger among millions. . . . Trade unions everywhere must search for solutions to common problems.[7]

Gaspar leaves no doubt, however, which system holds the solutions to such problems:

> In socialist countries the government and the agencies in charge of the economy look on the trade unions primarily as partners enjoying equal rights with them. . . . Socialism is not free of objective contradictions, but unlike previous social formations, socialism can cope with these contradictions and overcome objective and subjective difficulties.[8]

By contrast, Gaspar states that in capitalist countries:

> . . . trade union work goes on amid insoluble contradictions between the exploited and exploiters. . . . The authorities in capitalist countries want trade unions "to swear allegiance" to the bourgeois system while they foment anti-Sovietism in order "to divert the working people's attention from the general crises of capitalism. . . ."[9]

Trade Union Unity and Disarmament. Under the banner of trade union unity, the WFTU has associated itself with the Soviet Union's peace and disarmament campaigns. "All sensible people, whatever their ideology and political likes or dislikes, declare for peace and mutually beneficial international cooperation," Gaspar claims. Thus, he has called upon the ICFTU and the WCL to "adopt measures without delay aimed at averting the arms race." When it comes to assessing blame for the arms race, however, Gaspar's real sentiments emerge:

> The upsurge in international tension is a direct result of the renunciation of detente by extremist monopoly capitalist forces in the United States and other NATO countries. It is an open secret that every new round of the arms race is imposed on the Warsaw Treaty Organization by NATO.[1]

Reflecting Soviet direction, "peace and disarmament" has become the WFTU's main theme, overshadowing traditional trade union concerns. Thus, at the April 1983 General Council meeting in Cyprus, Secretary General Zakariya warned against:

> . . . the increasingly dangerous imperialist policies under which the leadership of the most reactionary circles in the United States, headed by the Reagan Administration, are bringing the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

In recent Soviet peace campaigns, the WFTU has pressed European governments not to allow intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe. In particular, the WFTU was a major participant in the 1981 Paris conference on "The Social and Economic Consequences of Disarmament." This conference established the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament, headquartered in Dublin. This group holds periodic "peace" meetings, such as a May 1983 Vienna conference at which the WFTU and the Soviet AUCCTU were prominently represented.

The WFTU's peace and disarmament campaign also aims at winning adherents in the Third World. Thus, the Tenth World Trade Union Congress was held in Havana in February 1982—the first congress convened outside Europe. While its official theme was "Trade Unions and the Challenge of the 1980s," most of the 150 speeches reflected Soviet policy on disarmament. The conference awarded medals to Fidel Castro and Leonid Brezhnev.

Solidarity Meetings. The WFTU regularly sponsors a large number of "solidarity" committees which meet to bring attention to regions and subjects of WFTU political interest. There are "International Trade Union Committees of Solidarity with the Peoples and Workers" of Aden, Palestine, South Africa, Africa, and Chile, as well as committees on particular subjects, such as the "International Committee of the Workers' Struggle Against the Offensive of the Monopolies." Conferences, sponsored by either the WFTU or its subsidiaries, have been held in recent years on such subjects as the "Problems of Women Workers" and "Working Youth."

In November 1982 the Permanent Committee for Trade Union Unity of Latin America sponsored a solidarity meeting with the Sandinista government in Managua. In April 1983, in conjunction with the General Council meeting in Nicosia, the WFTU hosted a "Special Session on Cyprus" in which speakers blamed the Cyprus problem on "imperialist elements" and "foreign intervention." In May 1983, the Trade Union International of Chemical, Oil and Allied Workers sponsored a conference in Ho Chi Minh City entitled "The International Trade Union Movement Against Chemical and Biological Warfare." The Fourth Trade Union Conference for Unity and Solidarity in the Caribbean is planned for 1984. In conjunction with the projected 1985 UN International Youth Year, the WFTU has scheduled national conferences for 1983 in Burundi, Mali, Mozambique, Romania, and the U.S.S.R.; and regional conferences are planned in Benin, India, Brazil, and Grenada before the 1985 Fourth Trade Union Conference on the Problems of Working Youth.

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[6] In the past the WCL has attempted to cooperate with the WFTU in various areas, maintaining a more accommodating position toward the WFTU than has the ICFTU. However, after October 1982 the WCL declared that it would cease all contact with the WFTU because of differences over Polish issues.

[7] "For Unity of Action: Objectives of the International Trade Union Movement," *World Marxist Review*, July 1982, p. 17.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[9] *Ibid.*

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Poland. The Polish trade union Solidarity has presented the WFTU with an embarrassing problem since the WFTU claims to lead the struggle of the working class and some of its Western and Third World members sympathize with the suppressed union. To bypass this issue, the WFTU adopted the stance that Solidarity is solely an internal matter for the Polish people, although Executive Bureau President Gaspar has stated that Poland's problems are due in part to past neglect of trade union matters. Moreover, the WFTU, as of July 1983, still had not recognized the Polish Government-backed unions, although such recognition is likely.

However, Gaspar publicly approved the December 1981 imposition of martial law in Poland. In at least three trips to Poland in the last 2 years he did not meet with Solidarity leaders—even during the period when the Polish Government recognized Solidarity as a legal union. In contrast, Gaspar met with numerous Polish officials, including General Jaruzelski.

Solidarity was not invited to the Havana congress. Instead, a Polish Government-approved delegation attended. Over the objections of some delegates, particularly the French and Japanese, the congress declared "imperialist forces" were conducting a "detestable campaign of slander" against Poland. "Solidarity," the statement asserted, "has turned into an 'antisocialist and antistate political movement.'"

Underlying Soviet ideology. The WFTU closely adheres to the Soviet approach to trade unionism. Unlike trade unions in Western and many Third World countries, which are subordinate neither to management nor government, "trade unions" in communist countries, according to Marxist ideology, are not independent from the ruling communist party. As *Pravda* stated in late 1981, "Our [Communist] Party's history has demonstrated with utmost clarity the absurdity of the concept of independent trade unions." Internationally, the WFTU strives to reflect Lenin's dictum that "trade unions" are the "transmission belt" between the party "vanguard" and the "masses."

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Special
Report No. 110

Soviet Active Measures

September 1983

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

This report, based on unclassified sources, describes "active measures" that have come to light since publication of Special Report No. 101 in July 1982. The Soviet Union employs the term "active measures" (a direct translation from the Russian aktivnyye meropriyatiya) to cover a broad range of deceptive techniques—such as use of front groups, media manipulation, disinformation, forgeries, and agents of influence—to promote Soviet foreign policy goals and to undercut the position of Soviet opponents. The active measures discussed in this report are necessarily limited to those that have been publicly exposed.

These often clandestine efforts by the Soviets and their surrogates to influence political and public opinion in the non-communist world have grown in boldness and intensity, reflecting what appears to be increased use of active measures as a policy instrument by the Soviets and their allies. The principal target of Soviet active measures continues to be the NATO decision to deploy intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in Western Europe. Other active measures aimed against Europe involve the Polish Solidarity movement and the effort to discredit a possible Bulgarian connection in the attempt to assassinate Pope John Paul.

In Africa, active measures alleged U.S. interference in the internal affairs of different countries and implied close military cooperation between the United States and South Africa. In Nigeria, Ambassador Pickering was accused of directing a political assassination plot. In Ghana, Ambassador Smith was charged with organizing a coup attempt. Disinformation efforts used forged documents as "evidence" of military links between Washington and Pretoria despite the U.S. embargo on military sales to South Africa.

In the Middle East, active measures have tried to suggest U.S. collusion with Israel in the invasion of Lebanon and American animosity toward Islamic groups. In South Asia, the most striking active measure was the forged Kirkpatrick speech with its claim that the United States was in favor of "balkanizing" India.

In Latin America, where Cuba functions as the main Soviet surrogate, front groups have been the primary active measures vehicle. The fronts have been busy trying to generate international support for the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador and to increase opposition to U.S. policy toward Central America.

In East Asia, the Soviets used front groups and disinformation campaigns in an effort to deflect the damage to the Soviet image from the use by Moscow and its surrogates of chemical weapons in Afghanistan, Laos, and Kampuchea. In addition, revelations of former KGB Major Stanislav Levchenko spotlighted extensive Soviet active measures in Japan.

The First Directorate of the KGB has responsibility for developing and implementing active measures. The Interna-

HIGHLIGHTS OF MAJOR ACTIVE MEASURES

July 1983. Two fake U.S. Embassy Rome telegrams depict press coverage of the possible "Bulgarian connection" in the assassination attempt against the Pope as a U.S.-orchestrated campaign.

June 1983. The triennial gathering of the major Soviet front group, the World Peace Council, meets in Prague and makes opposition to INF deployment its main target.

April 1983. A forged U.S. Embassy Lagos document has Ambassador Thomas Pickering ordering the assassination of a principal Nigerian presidential candidate in "Operation Headache."

April 1983. The Swiss expel the correspondent of Novosti, the Soviet news agency, for "unacceptable interference in internal Swiss affairs," including funneling of funds and guidance to elements of the Swiss peace movement.

March 1983. Ghana, relying on a forged West German document, accuses the United States of plotting to overthrow the Rawlings government.

February 1983. A fake speech by UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick on U.S. policy toward the Third World surfaces in India and is reprinted in communist media in the Soviet Union, Nicaragua, and elsewhere.

tional Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union participates in active measures, especially when these involve front groups and foreign communist parties. The International Information Department also may assist. At times it is difficult to ascertain if a particular active measure is implemented by the Soviets or a surrogate intelligence service. However, the distinction is hardly significant given the close collaboration between the KGB and its sister services.

EUROPE

The Peace Movement

World Peace Assembly. Every 3 years, the World Peace Council (WPC), the major Soviet front organization, holds a world peace assembly. This year's meeting in Prague, June 21-26, faithfully echoed the Soviet line. The session focused on opposing NATO deployment of U.S. intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in Western Europe as its main goal. At the same time, the Czechoslovak hosts made certain there was no criticism of Soviet SS-20 missile deployment.

Earlier efforts by noncommunist peace groups to equate the SS-20s with the NATO missiles drew strong criticism from Yuriy Zhukov, chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, alienating some West European peace groups from the WPC. The problem was further aggravated when a demonstration of some 300 young people in downtown Prague for "peace and freedom for all nations" was quickly suppressed by Czechoslovak police. Inside the conference hall, several representatives of the West German Greens Party walked out in protest over suppression of the demonstration and the refusal of the Czechoslovak hosts to permit them to meet with members of the Charter '77 dissident group.

Espionage and the Norwegian Peace Movement. On June 22, 1983, Assistant Soviet Military Attache Vladimir Zagrebnev was expelled from Norway. The Oslo press reported that, in addition to engaging in espionage activities, Zagrebnev had been trying to gain influence with the Norwegian peace movement.

Novosti Interferes With Internal Swiss Affairs. On April 29, 1983, the Swiss Government announced the expulsion of Alexei Dumov, the correspondent of Novosti, the Soviet news agency, and the closing of the Novosti office in Bern for "serious interference in Swiss internal affairs." A few days later, Leonid Ovchinnikov, the KGB officer who was reportedly supervising Dumov's political and media influence operations, was also expelled. Ovchinnikov was serving ostensibly as a first secretary in the Soviet mission in Geneva. According to Swiss authorities, the Novosti correspondent's activities included:

- Involvement in the December 5, 1981 Bern peace demonstration;
- Involvement in the Swiss Appeal for Peace and Against Nuclear War;
- Close cooperation with an activist youth group that became engaged in paramilitary training and took part in a violent demonstration in Bern;
- Encouragement of Swiss citizens to refuse compulsory military service;
- Help to organize a demonstration in the Swiss parliament in 1982; and
- Circulation of reports that falsely implicated Swiss intelligence in the death of Leonid Pantchenko, a Soviet delegate to an international coffee conference in Geneva, who died of natural causes there in April 1980.

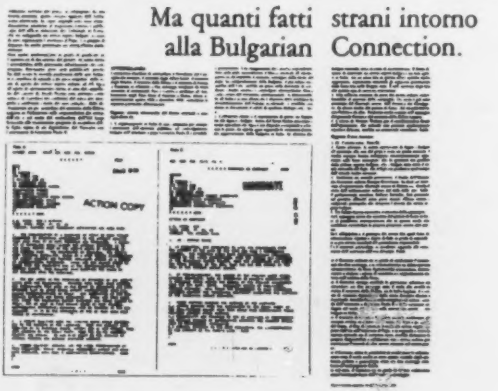
Dutch Report on Efforts To Influence the Peace Movement. On November 6 and 13, 1982, the Amsterdam daily, *De Telegraaf*, reported on analyses by Netherlands intelligence of Soviet and East European efforts to influence the Dutch peace movement. In the November 6 article, *De Telegraaf* spoke of "clear proof of Soviet involvement" and of close cooperation between the Dutch Communist Party and the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party in the campaign against the NATO nuclear weapons. The November 13 article stated, "The Soviet authorities are still actively influencing the Netherlands debate on NATO nuclear weapons modernization."

De Telegraaf stated that a key individual in the Soviet effort was Anatoli Popov, who headed a Soviet delegation to Holland for talks on the peace movement in January 1982 and was an official of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party. *De Telegraaf* noted that Popov had been expelled from Holland in 1961, when he fought with Dutch military police trying to protect a Soviet asylum seeker. At the time he was second secretary and press attache.

The Assassination Attempt Against Pope John Paul

In an apparent effort to discredit a possible Bulgarian connection in the papal assassination attempt, a Rome leftwing newsweekly, *Pace e Guerra*, published two fabricated U.S. Embassy telegrams in its July 21, 1983 edition.

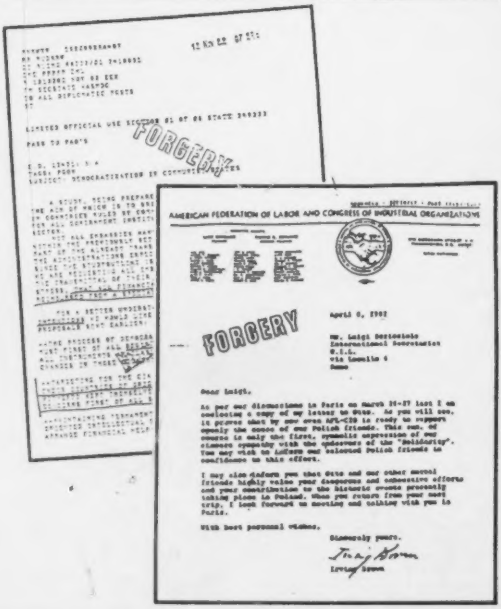
***Pace e Guerra*, July 21, 1983**


Ma quanti fatti strani intorno alla Bulgarian Connection.

The first forgery, dated August 28, 1982, proposed a large-scale disinformation effort—in cooperation with Italian intelligence and friendly members of the Socialist Party—to implicate the Bulgarians and the Soviets in the papal assassination attempt. The second, dated December 6, 1982, judged the campaign a success. The bogus telegram claimed: "The European media have enthusiastically developed themes on the lines anticipated: that the gunman was directed by the Bulgarian secret police; that the Bulgarians are under the total control of the KGB; that the KGB was headed at the time by the present Soviet leader."

The newsweekly, which has close links with the Democratic Party of Proletarian Unity (PDUP), attributed the documents to reliable but anonymous sources. Its charges were echoed by two PDUP members of parliament, who had been elected on a joint list with the Italian Communist Party. The American Embassy promptly branded the cables as forgeries and pointed out serious errors in cable format. The fabrication apparently was designed to provide "credible evidence" for Soviet media allegations that the United States had orchestrated the arrest of the Bulgarian intelligence officer Antonov as part of an effort to blame the Soviets and Bulgarians for the papal assassination attempt.

Forged Project Democracy Telegram (left) **and AFL-CIO Letter** (right)



Events in Poland

Forged AFL-CIO Letter. On March 31, 1983, a forged letter from AFL-CIO official Irving Brown to an Italian labor official, Luigi Scricciolo, surfaced in the provincial Sicilian weekly, *Sette Giorno*. A cousin of one of the Red Brigade kidnapers of General Dozier, Scricciolo was taken into custody during the Dozier investigation. He then admitted that he had been working as an agent for Bulgarian intelligence. The fake letter suggested that Scricciolo was a CIA agent funneling funds clandestinely from the AFL-CIO to the Polish trade union Solidarity. The forgery's purpose was presumably to undermine the credibility of Scricciolo's testimony about Bulgarian intelligence activities and to suggest secret links between Solidarity and the CIA.

Fake National Security Council Memorandum. The February 7, 1983 issue of *Tiempo*, a Madrid newsweekly, published extracts from a forged 1978 National Security Council memorandum on Poland from Zbigniew Brzezinski to President Carter. The memorandum identified Poland as "the weakest link in the chain of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe" and proposed a destabilization policy involving "politicians, diplomats, labor unions, the mass media and covert activity." The State Department denounced the document as a forgery. Dr. Brzezinski sent a personal letter denying the authenticity of the document to *Tiempo*, which published the letter in its May 16, 1983 edition. The presumed aim of the forgery was to suggest, in line with Soviet propaganda, that the United States was responsible for the troubles in Poland.

Project Democracy

In January 1983 a forged State Department telegram number 249222 dealing with the implementation of President Reagan's democracy initiative, circulated in Austria. The fabricated document referred to using the CIA "for training and sending to their countries of origin activist emigres who have hitherto kept themselves out of the limelight." The fake cable also called for efforts in allied countries to eliminate "communist parties and parties whose programs are alien to our ideals." Friendly governments were not to be informed of these measures "under any circumstances."

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This active measure mirrored public Soviet criticism of the democracy initiative. The real State Department telegram number 249222 provided advice to the American Consulate General in Shanghai on a visa case.

Problems With NATO

NATO Violates Swedish Neutrality? On November 2, 1982, a Swedish communist paper, *Proletarien*, carried a distorted news report that a consignment of NATO armored personnel carriers (APCs) had transited Goteborg en route to Norway in violation of Swedish neutrality. A concerted effort followed to ensure that noncommunist media were aware of this story. Initially successful, this attempt resulted in other Swedish media repeating the alleged violation of Swedish neutrality as straight news, and, in turn, this was replayed by Soviet media.

The Swedish Foreign Ministry then issued a denial, clarifying that the shipment—in fact, of Norwegian, not NATO, APCs—was entirely consistent with Swedish neutrality. The apparent goal of this effort was to divert attention in Sweden from the controversy over the discovery of an unidentified submarine, presumed to be Soviet, in Swedish territorial waters at the time.

Mediterranean Air Safety. In July 1982, while the United States and Italy were engaged in talks regarding Mediterranean air safety, a fake U.S. military document surfaced in Rome. The memo stated that, contrary to what U.S. authorities were telling their Italian counterparts, NATO air activities posed a safety hazard. The U.S. Embassy in Rome immediately denounced the document as a fabrication, and a July 23, 1982 report by ANSA, the Italian news agency, labeled it a communist disinformation effort.

AFRICA

Assassination Plot in Nigeria

On April 13, 1983, the two major opposition party newspapers in Ibadan, Nigeria, the *Nigerian Tribune* and the *Daily Sketch*, headlined charges that Ambassador Thomas Pickering had ordered the assassination of two prominent Unity Party of Nigeria figures, Chief Awolowo, the party's presidential candidate, and his colleague Chief Abiola. To substantiate these charges, the papers published a forged document purporting to be an internal U.S. Embassy memorandum recommending the assassination. It stated: "Chief Abiola has outlived his usefulness to our service . . . his flirtation with the opposition led by Obafemi Awolowo exemplifies the need to go ahead with operations Heartburn and Headache to solve the problem of these two personalities. . . . The Department must be well briefed on these wet affairs. . . . " The memo envisaged establishing "a friendly military government" after purging the present "corrupt" regime.

People's Daily Graphic, April 1, 1983

People's Daily Graphic
CIA ASSEMBLING MERCENARIES TO ATTACK GHANA
WEST GERMANY TELLS ABOUT CIA
From the secret files of the West German Embassy
GERMAN VERSION
Your Graphic

The United States immediately denounced the document as a fake and the stories based on it as false. KGB authorship was suggested by the use of the term "wet affairs"—a direct translation of the term in standard Soviet intelligence lexicon to refer to assassinations. Despite U.S. denials, the story gained some credence in Nigeria, and press wire services circulated it elsewhere in African countries. Soviet and Czech media quickly replayed the report. *Rude*

Presa carried the deception further, incorrectly suggesting that the Nigerian Government had made the allegation when in fact the charges originated in the *Nigerian Tribune* and the *Daily Sketch*.

Overthrow of the Ghanaian Government

On March 31, 1983, Kojo Tsikata, Special Adviser to the Provisional National Defense Council, called a press conference to charge the U.S. Embassy in Accra with trying to overthrow the Rawlings government. As "proof," Tsikata produced a copy of an alleged West German Embassy report informing Bonn that Ambassador Thomas Smith was dissatisfied with his CIA staffers. The document has Smith saying that the staffers "will only prove themselves if they achieve basic changes in the country and succeed in overthrowing Rawlings." The next day, the *People's Daily Graphic*, a government-owned paper, reported the story as authentic and displayed a photocopy of the document.

The West German Government called the report a fabrication on April 2, and the U.S. Government issued a sharp protest to the Ghanaian Government. Although Ghana eventually accepted the fact that the report was a forgery, the incident had an immediate, damaging impact on U.S.-Ghanaian relations by creating the false impression that the United States was supporting Rawling's opponents.

Relations Between the United States and South Africa

Northrop Sales Letter. The November 17, 1982 *Jeune Afrique*, an influential French-language newsweekly published in Paris and widely read in Francophone Africa, reported that despite the U.S. embargo on arms sales to South Africa, Northrop Aviation was offering to sell South Africa its new Tigershark fighter. To "prove" the point, *Jeune Afrique* published a picture of a letter ostensibly sent by Northrop's vice president for marketing to the commander of the South African Air Force. When Northrop called the letter a fake, *Jeune Afrique* ran a new story on January 19, 1983, suggesting that the denial was untrue and the original letter was authentic.

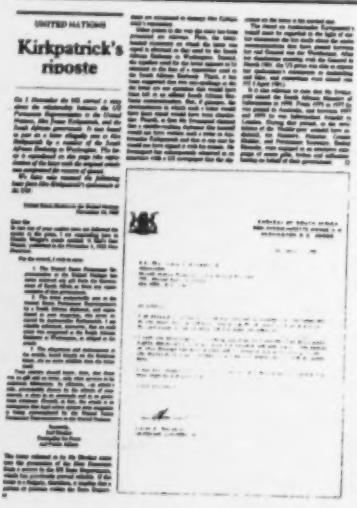
In this case, the perpetrator of the active measure apparently obtained a copy of a genuine letter that Northrop had routinely sent to many countries, but not to South Africa, and simply typed in the South African addressee. The purpose of this active measure was to suggest that the U.S. embargo on military sales to South Africa was a sham.

Cruise Missiles in Africa. A false report that the United States and Israel would be testing and later deploying Tomahawk cruise missiles in South Africa first appeared in Mozambique's *Noticias* on November 29, 1982. Since then East German, Bulgarian, and Soviet media have repeated the story. It has also been reported in the Ethiopian, Zambian, Seychelles, and Angolan press.

Aviation Personnel International Letter. *The Herald* of Zimbabwe of June 5, 1982 and several other African papers reported that U.S. helicopter pilots experienced in jungle warfare were working with South Africa. This was based on a fake letter to the South African Air Force from Aviation Personnel International of New Orleans, a company specialising in the placement of pilots. The company has provided an affidavit stating that it had no dealings with South Africa and assumes that the author of the forgery obtained a company form letter and substituted its own text. The letter's terminology suggests that the author was a Soviet. It stated that the proposal had the approval of "competent bodies" of the U.S. Government. The term would not be used in this fashion in American bureaucratic jargon, but in Russian it is used to refer to official government or party organs.

Letter to Ambassador Kirkpatrick. The November 5, 1982 *New Statesman*, the prominent British newsweekly, printed as factual a fake letter to Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick from the newly arrived press counselor of the Embassy of South Africa in Washington, D.C. The letter conveyed his personal greetings and also those of the chief of South African intelligence. Although the press spokesman of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations immediately branded the letter as a fabrication, the *New Statesman* reiterated its belief in the document's authenticity in its December 3, 1982 edition. The active measure's purpose, like the one noted above, was to provide "evidence" of close U.S.-South African ties.

***New Statesman*, December 3, 1982**


UNITED NATIONS

Kirkpatrick's riposte

American Blacks and Links to Africa

A forged Carter Administration document on Africa, which first appeared in 1980, suggested U.S. anxiety about the links between U.S. blacks and black Africans. It previously had surfaced a number of times, first in the United States in September 1980 when presidential press secretary Jody Powell denounced it as a forgery. Nonetheless, it reappeared in March 1983 in the *Nigeria Standard* and in April 1983 in the Upper Volta press.

NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

U.S. Cooperation With Israel on Lebanon

Communist Fronts. Shortly after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Soviet front machinery launched a major campaign to link the United States with the Israeli action. In July 1982 the World Peace Council held a special meeting on Lebanon in Geneva. In August the Soviets called for the creation of an international commission to investigate alleged Israeli "crimes" in Lebanon. Committees of solidarity with the Palestinians appeared in a number of countries. The lead, however, was taken by local communists rather than Palestinian Arabs. Throughout the summer of 1982, there was a spate of demonstrations in Canada, Europe, and Latin America on the Lebanon issue. Once more the lead groups appeared to be communist fronts rather than genuine Arab organizations.

Soviet Broadcasts. Moscow's Arabic-language broadcasts on *Radio Peace and Progress* during the same period sought to exploit Arab sensitivities over Lebanon and the Palestinians. For example, a July 7, 1982 broadcast voiced a typical theme that the invasion had been planned long in advance by the United States and its "Zionist clique." A July 18 broadcast charged that the U.S. "military-industrial complex" was selling the "Zionist aggressors" the most modern "weapons of destruction" to perpetrate a "bloody massacre" in Lebanon.

Downstream Operations Memorandum. In the fall of 1982, "Downstream Operations," a forged U.S. Department of Defense document purporting to be a memo signed by National Security Council Middle East specialist Geoffrey Kemp, circulated in a number of Arab countries and within Arab communities in Europe. The document suggested that the United States had prior knowledge of, and had given prior approval to, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Clandestine Radio Broadcasts on Iran

Since February 1963, the Soviet Union's clandestine *National Voice of Iran* (NVOI), broadcasting from Baku in the Caucasus region of the U.S.S.R., has grown increasingly critical of the Khomeini regime. NVOI has condemned Tehran's suppression of the communist Tudeh Party, urged the release of Tudeh leaders, and warned that "groundless charges of espionage" against them will damage Iranian-Soviet relations. At the same time, NVOI has continued to paint the United States as the "Great Satan" and to allege American machinations to subvert and overthrow the Khomeini government.

Inciting Trouble With Muslims

Although labeled a forgery in January 1979, a fabricated academic study by Richard Mitchell, a Middle East specialist, reappeared in Cairo in October 1982. This document, which outlines an alleged CIA plan to incite trouble within Islamic fundamentalist groups, was one of a rash of Soviet forgeries during the late 1970s to weaken U.S.-Egyptian relations. When the document reappeared, Shaykh Talmasani, a leading figure in the Muslim Brotherhood, pointed to the study as "evidence" that the United States was trying to foment differences among Islamic groups.

The Balkanization of India

On January 25, 26, and 28, 1983, the procommunist New Delhi daily newspaper, *Patriot*, published a bogus expose of U.S. policy toward the Third World by Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. The February 6 issue of *Link*, a far-left Indian newsweekly, ran a similar story. Both reports preceded the meeting of nonaligned nations in New Delhi.

According to these stories, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick had given the policy review to the American Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington in February 1982. The articles included a fabricated telegram of the U.S. Information Agency purportedly transmitting the text of the speech to missions overseas. Although the speech covered the globe in a manner designed to annoy nonaligned nations, the point that attracted most attention in India was the allegation that the United States favored the "balkanization" of that country. The speech also included unflattering remarks about the government of Indira Gandhi.

The U.S. Embassy promptly stated that the articles were false. Although Ambassador Kirkpatrick had attended the conference, she made no speech. The influential newsweekly *India Today* and the *Free Press Journal* of Bombay described the episode as a Soviet disinformation effort. Nonetheless, communist members of the Indian Parliament denounced the United States, and the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India issued a call to resist U.S. "intervention." Soviet media continue to refer to the speech, and the Nicaraguan press also used it to criticize U.S. policy. In South Asia, some noncommunist papers, including Pakistan's conservative Urdu-language *Jang* and Nepal's semiofficial *Gorkha Patra*, carried the story as hard news.

LATIN AMERICA

The main active measures vehicles have been front groups, with many working through regional affiliates, mostly headquartered in Havana or Mexico City. These include the World Peace Council, Christian Peace Conference, World Federation of Trade Unions, International Union of Students, and the International Organization of Journalists. Their activities are supplemented by a variety of single-issue organizations focused on Central America, such as national committees for solidarity with Nicaragua and with the Salvadoran FMLN.

U.S. Policy in Central America

- In April 1983, the World Peace Council and its Nicaraguan affiliate CONIPAZ sponsored the Continental Conference for Peace and Sovereignty in Central America to criticize U.S. policy. Predictably, the final resolution lambasted U.S. support for the "bloody" regime in El Salvador and denounced the U.S. stance toward Cuba and Grenada.

• On January 27, 1983, Nicaraguan media published as factual the fake Jeane Kirkpatrick speech on U.S. policy toward the Third World. Since it had just surfaced in Indian leftwing media, the prompt Nicaraguan rerun possibly was prearranged. Sections of the bogus speech highly critical of Mexican policy were highlighted in the Nicaraguan replay.

• In September 1982 a single-issue front group linked to the World Peace Council—the World Front of Committees of Solidarity for the People of El Salvador—gathered in Managua to castigate U.S. policy toward Central America.

Bacteriological Warfare

• The Castro regime has tried to explain the resurgence of dengue fever in Cuba by blaming the Pakistani malaria research center in Lahore, which the Soviets had charged with implementing a CIA-sponsored bacteriological warfare program. (See Special Report No. 101 for details.) According to Cuban media, the center was not only breeding malarial mosquitos for Afghanistan but also to carry dengue fever into Cuba. A former Cuban health official, Eduardo Gomes Cabale, who defected to the United States in 1982, has stated that the Cuban Government chose this explanation to divert attention from the likely carrier of dengue fever: Cuban troops returning from Angola.

• In March 1983, the Mexico City office of the Salvador Human Rights Commission, which has ties to the FMLN, accused the United States of furnishing the El Salvador military with chemical and biological weapons.

• In the summer of 1982, Moscow's *Radio Peace and Progress* made much of allegations by an American citizen, Scott Barnes, who falsely claimed he had been asked by U.S. Special Forces in March 1982 to assist in the use of chemical and biological weapons against the El Salvador rebels. Barnes, who has been an occasional mouthpiece for Soviet disinformation, also incorrectly asserted that he was a former Green Beret, FBI agent, and CIA officer.

The Falklands Campaign

Reagan-Thatcher Tape. In late May 1983, 2 weeks before the U.K. general elections, copies of a fabricated audiotape of an alleged telephone conversation between President Reagan and Prime Minister Thatcher during the Falklands campaign circulated in the Netherlands under an anonymous cover letter. On the tape, the President tries to restrain Mrs. Thatcher, who is bent on punishing Argentina, and to blame her for the loss of the *HMS Sheffield*. Technical analysis of the tape indicated that the voices were authentic. Comparison with President Reagan's public statements revealed that the President's remarks were excerpted from a November 22, 1982 speech that was broadcast to Europe. In a Dutch "transcript" circulated with the tape, phrases from the speech were rearranged and taken out of context.

Weinberger Press Statement. In early summer 1982, a false May 5, 1982 Department of Defense press release No. 217-82 circulated in Latin America. Apparently it was intended for private distribution. In the bogus statement, Secretary Weinberger was outspokenly supportive of the British and highly critical of Argentina, whose attitude was described as "stubborn and selfish." The actual DOD release No. 217-82 dealt with contract awards.

EAST ASIA

Yellow Rain

In May 1982 the World Federation of Trade Unions, the main Soviet trade union front group, sponsored a major conference in Vietnam to oppose alleged U.S. use of chemical warfare. This activity seemed part of a broader Soviet effort to divert attention from its use of "yellow rain" in Afghanistan, Laos, and Kampuchea by claiming that the United States itself was engaged in chemical warfare.

Levchenko's Revelations About the KGB in Japan

In December 1982 the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Intelligence released testimony given earlier in the year by former KGB Major Stanislav Levchenko, who defected to the United States in 1979. At the time, Levchenko was in charge of Soviet active measures in Japan.

The testimony made clear that the Soviets were making an extensive effort to influence Japanese political and public opinion through the full panoply of active measures techniques:

• Use of agents of influence, including senior journalists and politicians, to spread rumors and disinformation (i.e., alleged "serious" splits in the Chinese hierarchy over the border fighting with Vietnam, rumors of a secret nuclear deal between China and Italy, a false last political testament of the Chinese leader Zhou En-lai, and a concerted effort to label President Carter "neutron" Carter); and

• Use of agents of influence in Japan's internal politics. (Through such agents of influence, Levchenko asserted that the KGB played a major behind-the-scenes role in some Japanese opposition groups).

Soviet active measures goals, prepared annually by the KGB residency, according to Levchenko, mirrored Soviet policy toward Japan, and active measures were designed to support specific policy aims to:

• Improve Soviet-Japanese relations;

• Increase tensions between Japan and China;

• Increase tensions between Japan and the United States;

• Convince the Japanese that it was hopeless to work for the return of the northern territories.

Levchenko estimated the strength of the KGB residency in Tokyo at about 50 with 5 officers working full time on active measures. Levchenko, whose own cover was as a correspondent of the Soviet magazine *New Times*, said that journalist cover was highly regarded since it permitted wider access than diplomatic cover. According to Levchenko, 10 of the 12 *New Times* foreign correspondents were KGB officers, and a high percentage of overseas representatives of other Soviet media were also from the KGB. The former intelligence officer stated that the Soviets had about

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200 Japanese agents, all of whom could be utilized for active measures if the KGB felt that this was desirable.

CONCLUSION

Assessing the impact of active measures is difficult, but they seem to have greater success in developing areas, such as Africa, than in other regions, for example Europe, where their record has been uneven. Yet as Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger wrote in the April 1983 *NATO Review*: "In both developed and developing countries, beyond the success, or lack of it, of particular operations, active measures have a corrosive effect on open political systems."

In dealing with active measures, Under Secretary Eagleburger recommended in the same article that "While recognizing that active measures are but one aspect of our complex relationship, common sense requires that we counter these intrusions not only through effective counterintelligence but by keeping our citizens as fully informed as possible of the deceptive practices to which they are exposed." ■

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

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No. 88—"Soviet Active Measures: Forgery, Disinformation, Political Operations," October 1981

No. 101—"Soviet Active Measures: An Update," July 1982

State Department Foreign Affairs Note

"Moscow's Radio Peace and Progress," August 1982

"Communist Clandestine Broadcasting," December 1982

"Soviet Active Measures: Focus on Forgeries," April 1983

"The World Peace Council's 'Peace Assemblies'," May 1983

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"Unacceptable Intervention: Soviet Active Measures," Under Secretary for Political Affairs Lawrence S. Eagleburger, August 1983 (reprinted from *NATO Review*, Volume 31, No. 1, 1983)

Congressional Hearings

"Hearings on Soviet Active Measures," House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, December 1982

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Soviet Active Measures

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Following is an address by William E. Knepper, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago, May 30, 1984.

I'm delighted to be here and appreciate this opportunity to help shed some light on one of the aspects of Soviet clandestine activities which attempt to influence world public opinion. One of the activities that falls within the purview of my new responsibilities has been an interagency working group on Soviet active measures. To us "active measures" means unorthodox and covert Soviet and Soviet-bloc efforts to affect political attitudes and influence public opinion in the noncommunist world. State chairs the group which includes representatives from several agencies including the Defense Department, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and U.S. Information Agency. Among its several responsibilities, the group is charged with identifying forged documents prepared by Soviet KGB [Committee for State Security] operatives or the closely coordinated East European or Cuban intelligence services.

Our Embassies abroad have as a priority requirement reporting likely forgeries that may appear in the press or be circulated privately among influential foreign leaders and opinionmakers. Our active measures working group meets every other week to review the "surfacing" of possible forgeries any place in the world. Confirmed forgeries are officially denied and publicly exposed in discussions such as this one.

Larry Eagleburger, who retired May 7 as the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs—the highest ranking position then held by a career officer in the State Department—wrote in a recent article:

> Soviet Active Measures need to be countered by public exposure. They are infections that thrive only in darkness, and sunlight is the best antiseptic. Governments should make available to their publics as much as possible of our growing knowledge of Soviet practices.

Overview

Before we see some examples of forgeries, let's look behind the cloak of secrecy with which the Soviets seek to shroud their intelligence operations.

The term "active measures" itself is a literal translation from the Russian *aktivnye meropriyatiya*. That's the name of the organization in the KGB's First Chief Directorate responsible for worldwide direction of these activities. As the Soviets use the concept, active measures encompass a wide range of practices, including disinformation, manipulating the media in foreign countries, the use of communist parties and communist front groups, and other operations to expand Soviet political influence. Unlike overt Soviet diplomatic and informational efforts, active measures usually involve an element of deception and frequently employ clandestine means to mask Moscow's involvement.

Intelligence operations and propaganda can be grouped in three categories; white, black, and gray. White refers to openly acknowledged government positions, policies, and statements. Black operations are supposedly never officially acknowledged or attributed. Gray affairs fall somewhere in between.

Looking at the whole spectrum of Soviet foreign policy, diplomatic, trade, and informational programs may be considered white or overt activities. The use of procommunist fronts, local communist parties, or traditional media information outlets fall into a gray category. Spreading rumors, planting false stories, surfacing forgeries, and use of agents of influence—collaborators, voluntary or paid—are black or clandestine operations. Active measures thus involve either gray or black operations, depending on the specific circumstances. Characteristic of Soviet active measures is their wide scope, geographic spread, and persistence over time, as well as the frequent use of fabricated documents to underpin disinformation operations.

As a policy tool, active measures trace back to the 1920s when the Soviets sought to discredit emigre groups in Western Europe, particularly in France, by spreading disinformation. They also lured emigre activists back to Russia through various subterfuges. Some of you may have watched last fall on PBS the 10-part series, "Reilly, Ace of Spies." A character in the series was lured back to his death in Russia by a supposed exile organization, "The Trust," which was in reality a KGB black operation. Even before the 1917 revolution, the tsarist secret police employed similar deception techniques. They used agents abroad not only to collect intelligence but also to sow dissent among emigre groups of that era. They also gave covert subsidies to selected journals to stimulate a better press for imperial Russia.

After World War II, the Soviets institutionalized these activities. They established a disinformation unit—Department D—within the First Chief

Directorate of the KGB, the Soviet overseas intelligence arm. In the 1960s, the term "active measures" first appeared when the Soviets changed the name of Department D to the Active Measures Department. The switch conveyed that the scope of the department's activities was far broader than mere dissemination of false stories in the press or floating forged documents.

Some of our best information on Soviet and Soviet-bloc intelligence operations is provided by defectors. In 1968 the one-time chief of the disinformation section of Czechoslovak intelligence, Ladislav Bittman, defected and has provided unusual insights into active measures operations. Bittman recounts that one of the main aims of Czech activities was to brand West German officials as Nazis. But he was also involved in anti-U.S. operations taking place as far afield as Indonesia and Central Africa.

Bittman's experience underscores the close cooperation between the Soviets and satellite intelligence services. Indeed, it is often difficult to know whether the Soviets or one of their surrogates are implementing an operation. Since their overall purpose is the same, the difficulty in differentiating a Russian from an East German or Cuban effort is an interesting challenge but not really significant.

In the mid-1970s, the KGB active measures department was upgraded to a "service," a further indication of the importance the Soviet leadership attached to active measures. This change meant that the chief of the service would have KGB general officer rank. The timing of the shift in the mid-1970s suggests a connection with Soviet disappointment with the fruits of detente—during which time forgeries had fallen off sharply. It indicated renewed willingness to employ deception techniques on a larger scale in support of Soviet aims. Reflective of this, the Carter Administration was targeted with an upsurge of active measures, frequently involving fake U.S. documents. These were particularly directed against the U.S.-Egyptian relationship and the Camp David process.

Organizationally, the KGB Active Measures Service has the primary role of backstopping foreign active measures operations, which are directed in general terms at the Politburo level—the summit of the Soviet hierarchy. The service is organized along functional and geographic lines with roughly half a dozen departments. It is believed to employ directly about 300 people. They monitor ongoing active measures around the world; process proposals for new operations; maintain liaison on active measures with KGB regional and country desks and with overseas operations; and provide technical support for operations through preparation of forgeries and fabrications, translation of documents, and printing and publication of materials.

Our best view under the Soviet cloak of secrecy has been provided by Stanislav Levchenko, a former KGB major and active measures specialist who defected to the United States in 1979 while working as a "journalist" in Japan. At the time of this defection, Levchenko was acting chief of the active measures section of the KGB "residency" in the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo. He supervised five case officers or KGB operatives. They, in turn, ran a string of 25 agents of Japanese or third-country nationalities. Levchenko was sentenced to death by a Soviet military tribunal meeting in secret in August 1981. He has declared open opposition to what he views as ". . . the corrupt Soviet system." The Soviets are preventing his wife and teenage son from joining him in the United States.

According to Levchenko, KGB "residencies" or foreign stations operating under diplomatic cover in Soviet Embassies or missions consider active measures part of their core operational work, along with espionage. Residencies submit proposals for new active measures and assessments of old activities in the annual plan sent to Moscow every December. Residencies can take the initiative in proposing new operations to take advantage of perceived opportunities at any time during the year. Final approval, however, rests with KGB headquarters as approved by the Politburo. Moscow can, of course, instruct residencies to undertake active measures at any time.

Most official or quasi-official Soviet representatives abroad are likely to be involved from time to time in active measures. Even Soviet scholars, journalists, and representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church, who are often accepted abroad as legitimate counterparts by their non-Soviet colleagues, also often engage in these types of active measures. Unlike their free-world counterparts, they often must play a dual role. Their legitimate academic or other pursuits sometimes play a subsidiary role to their political activities on behalf of the Kremlin. They are required to obey instructions from the bodies which plan and control Soviet active measures.

While the specifics of active measures vary widely, Levchenko stresses that all are specifically designed to reinforce Soviet policy objectives in a particular country or region. The United States and NATO are the Soviet Union's principal worldwide targets. However, as Major Levchenko's activities in Japan show, other countries are also on the receiving end of active measures.

When Levchenko defected, he was ostensibly working as a correspondent for the Soviet news magazine, *New Times*. He found cover as a journalist to be especially useful for active measures operations, since it provided broader access than more traditional diplomatic cover.

Ideally, the KGB seeks publication of disinformation in reputable noncommunist media. The Soviet press then replays the story, citing credible sources. It may also be replayed elsewhere, for example by wire services or others unaware that they are repeating disinformation. Sometimes the KGB runs disinformation in pro-Soviet news outlets. This is in the hope that the phony story will gain acceptance through frequent repetition, even though the initial surfacing vehicle lacks credibility.

Spreading rumors is perhaps the crudest form of active measures. This was done on a considerable scale by both the Axis and the Allied nations in World War II. In recent years, there are indications that the Soviets may have resumed the practice. In 1979 after the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca by religious fanatics, U.S. Embassies picked up numerous reports that the Soviets were falsely spreading the word to Arab contacts that the United States was implicated. Levchenko told the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence that he personally participated in several operations to spread rumors in Japan directed against the People's Republic of China. One such effort was to suggest secret collusion on nuclear matters between the Chinese and the Italians.

Forgeries

Many disinformation operations gain acceptance by showing tangible "proof." Fabricated documents and forgeries are provided as "evidence." In some cases a Soviet role in manufacturing these documents may be uncovered by content and forensic analyses of the document, the method of surfacing, the relative level of sophistication of the forgery, or its nearly instantaneous replay by the Soviet media. While it is not entirely clear why the Soviets have made forgeries such a specialty, the fake U.S. Government document has become a postwar hallmark of Soviet disinformation operations. In 1961 then CIA Assistant Director Richard Helms told the Senate Judiciary Committee that some 32 forgeries of U.S. Government documents had been uncovered during the preceding 4 years. These ranged from fake high-level plans on Middle East policy, involving Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and then New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, to false

Pentagon documents alleging that most U.S. strategic bomber pilots were medical wrecks.

Nineteen years later in February 1980, John McMahon, a successor to Helms as chief of the CIA's clandestine service, told the House Intelligence Committee a similar tale of fabricated U.S. Government documents. He provided background on the renewed Soviet surfacing of forgeries following the establishment of the Active Measures Service in the mid-1970s. McMahon elaborated on some two dozen forgeries, such as a series intended to create frictions in U.S.-Egyptian relations.

Since 1980, the KGB forgery curve has continued to rise. According to CIA testimony before the House Intelligence Committee in 1982, and our own State Department reports on Soviet active measures, 4 forgeries surfaced in 1980, 7 in 1981, 9 in 1982, and 12 in 1983—or over 30 since 1980. In addition, several earlier forgeries have been purposely resurfaced a number of times.

The technical quality of recent forgeries has improved over earlier KGB products. The formatting is on the whole good, certainly sufficient to deceive those unfamiliar with U.S. Government documents. There are, however, almost always some discrepancies and mistakes. It is difficult for an outsider to duplicate U.S. Government documents with total accuracy, given the frequent changes in form and procedures. (It's even difficult for us insiders to do it "by the book"—skilled secretaries and word processors are highly prized.) While the American English in most forged documents is colloquial, there are occasional linguistic flaws, use of stilted language or of British rather than American phrases or spelling. In some instances, literal translations expose the likely Soviet authorship. In a fake U.S. document that was surfaced in Nigeria, the term "wet affair" was used to describe a proposed assassination. "Wet affair" is the euphemism in the Soviet intelligence lexicon for "assassination." In a letter from the New Orleans-based aviation personnel agency to the South African Air Force chief, the term "competent bodies" is used. "Competent bodies" is the way the Soviets describe their security services.

In contrast to the 1950s when the Soviets were often satisfied with surfacing forgeries in the communist press, in recent years the KGB has sought publication in noncommunist media. When successful, this enhances the credibility of the disinformation operation and provides more believable sourcing for replay by communist media. A number of respected noncommunist journals have been victimized by fabrications during the past 2 years.

The Soviets sometimes surface forgeries through blind mailings sent to newsmen with no return address or other indication of the sender's identity. This is a random affair since most serious media outlets will either reject an anonymously sent document or, at the least, check before printing. The Soviets also use journalists working as KGB agents of influence to surface disinformation. They also try to plant fakes with newsmen either gullible or unprofessional enough to accept the authenticity of a document without checking.

Some fabrications are circulated privately and do not seem intended for publication in the media. This method prevents the alleged author from finding out about the forgery and thus is unable to publicly deny the document's authenticity.

Many fabrications never attain uncritical publication or surface only in communist or procommunist journals; still, forgeries are one of the most popular tools of disinformation. One reason forgeries are so frequently used is the difficulty in rebutting them effectively. The United States or other offended parties can forcefully deny fabrications. However, once published, a story frequently assumes a life of its own. Either the denial does not catch up with the original false report or a few people are willing to believe the story simply because it is in print.

Now let's review several examples of forgeries that dovetail with Soviet propaganda themes.

• Probably the most enduring set of forgeries are the so-called Holocaust papers, designed to create tension between the United States and our European allies. This is a collection of altered and authentic U.S. war plans that date from the early 1960s. The papers allege that the United States would sacrifice Western Europe by nuclear bombing strikes during a prospective world war III to save the continental United States. The papers surfaced initially in a Norwegian magazine in 1967. More recently, they were the subject of questions in the town council of Graz, Austria, in December 1982. At least 20 separate surfacings have been identified.

The Soviets received at least some of the authentic documents from an espionage agent, a U.S. Army sergeant. The sergeant was stationed in Paris as a military courier in the early 1960s. In 1965 he was tried and convicted of espionage and given 25 years in prison. He passed a wide variety of U.S. documents to the Soviets, some of which still occasionally appear in altered form.

• In November 1981 an attempt was made in Madrid to surface a forged letter from President Reagan to the King of Spain. The forgery was technically well done with the correct White House stationery and typescript. In terms intended to offend Spanish sensitivities, the letter urged the King both to join NATO and to crack down on groups such as the "Opus Dei pacifists" and the "left-wing opposition."

After an initial blind mailing to Spanish journalists failed to obtain publication, the forgery was circulated on November 11 to all delegations (except the U.S. and Spanish) to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) then meeting in Madrid. This time several Madrid newspapers ran stories that exposed the letter as a fabrication, probably of Soviet origin.

• This forgery of an alleged June 1979 letter from then NATO Commander Alexander Haig to NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns surfaced in April 1982. The letter discusses a possible nuclear first strike and calls for "... action of a sensitive nature to jolt the faint hearted." The letter is intended to stimulate the nuclear disarmament campaign by suggesting a Haig-Luns collusion against opponents of the modernization of nuclear forces in Europe. Technically, the quality is good but does include mistakes, such as inappropriate stationery and also the "Dear Joseph" greeting instead of the "Dear Joe" habitually used by General Haig. The forgery was surfaced in a leftist Belgian weekly and reported to Belgian television and radio. Its appearance coincided with numerous antinuclear demonstrations in the spring of 1982.

• In January 1982, a forged letter and an accompanying research analysis dated September 23, 1981, from Judge William Clark, then Deputy Secretary of State, to the U.S. Ambassador to Greece, Monteagle Stearns, was surfaced in Athens. This forgery indicated U.S. support for the conservatives in the October Greek elections. It alluded to a possible military coup if socialist leader Andreas Papandreou won at the polls (as he did). On the basis of Embassy assurances that the letter was a fake, it was not initially published. Several weeks later, after copies had been circulated at the CSCE in Madrid, a small Athens daily published it. However, the daily described the letter as of doubtful authenticity and probably attributable to a "third-country" intelligence service.

• Two faked 1982 telegrams were allegedly from the U.S. Embassy in Rome. They depict the Italian investigation of a possible Bulgarian connection in the assassination attempt against Pope John Paul II as a campaign orchestrated by the United States. The forgery

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appeared in a leftist Rome newsweekly in late July 1983. The cables are cleverly done and read much like State Department cables. An exception is the use of the term "spyneet Sofia" and various technical formatting errors. The fabrication apparently was designed to provide "credible evidence" for Soviet media allegations that the United States had orchestrated the arrest of the Bulgarian intelligence officer, Antonov, as part of an effort to blame the Soviets and Bulgarians for the papal assassination attempt.

• Another active measure alleging military cooperation with South Africa is a forged letter from the U.S. Defense Mapping Agency, addressed to a Lt. Gen. Dutton, South African Defense Force. This purports to be a positive reply to a South African request for satellite-produced maps and charts of Angola, Zambia, and Mozambique. Let me point out that Lt. Gen. Dutton has not held a command in the South African forces for years. There are many other features about this letter which indicate that the Defense Mapping Agency would never have written it, such as curious and ungrammatical punctuations—even for U.S. Government bureaucratese. The word "concretize" is used, which is similar to a Russian word in general usage.

• *Jeune Afrique*, an influential French-language newsweekly published in Paris and widely read in Francophone Africa, reported on November 17, 1982, that despite the U.S. embargo on arms sales to South Africa, Northrop Aviation was offering to sell South Africa its new Tigershark fighter. To "prove" the point, *Jeune Afrique* published a picture of a letter ostensibly sent by Northrop's vice president for marketing to the commander of the South African Air Force. When Northrop called the letter a fake, *Jeune Afrique* ran a new story on January 19, 1983, suggesting that the denial was untrue and the original letter was authentic.

In this case, the perpetrator of the active measure apparently obtained a copy of a genuine letter that Northrop had routinely sent to many countries, but not to South Africa, and simply typed in the South African addressee. The purpose of this active measure was to suggest that the U.S. embargo on military sales to South Africa was a sham. The envelope also had a 20¢ stamp—not enough to reach South Africa.

• In Lima, Peru, last year a report surfaced that the United States was planning to sell nuclear-tipped cruise missiles to Chile. Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth. The obvious intent was to stir up trouble between Peru and Chile and make the Peruvians suspicious of and antagonistic toward the United States. The report was based on a fake airgram appearing there. The Peruvians quickly realized that an attempt was being made to dupe them, and nearly every newspaper in Lima denounced the report as a forgery, most likely of Soviet inspiration.

Impact of Active Measures

The box score for disinformation and other media influence efforts is mixed. Despite extensive KGB active measures operations, it is hard to perceive any major impact on well-established, noncommunist, Western media outlets. Most fabrications or disinformation efforts are able to achieve publication only in obscure journals or in those known for their predilection for the Soviet line. Probably more damaging are repeaters. Even though exposed, through repeated surfacing and occasional uncritical publication, the impression can be created that "where there is smoke, there is fire."

Unfortunately for the United States, the Soviets have had much more success with active measures in the Third World. In Africa and South Asia, in particular, they have probably significantly added to U.S. image problems. Over the years, the KGB and its allies have developed well-established outlets to float disinformation. They also have had considerable success in arranging for press plants of distorted news stories in Africa.

In gauging the overall impact of active measures, it is important to view it through Soviet, not just American, eyes. The Soviets, as Levchenko points out, take a long-term view. They are not seeking immediate, short-term gains or necessarily a big impact from any one operation. Rather, they regard active measures like pawns in a chess game, able to damage the opponent at the margin. If Dr. Goebbels espoused the technique of the "big lie," the Soviets in active measures operations have more modest aspirations. They take the long-term view and by all accounts appear satisfied that the cumulative impact makes their considerable investment worthwhile. ■

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Foreign Affairs Note

United States Department of State
Washington, D.C.

SOVIET FRONTS: WOMEN AND YOUTH

July 1984

This is the first of three Foreign Affairs Notes *which provide information on principal Soviet fronts—their history, organization, and current activities. The succeeding* Notes *will deal with miscellaneous fronts and with those involving professional organizations.*

Three "mass" international organizations have sought to mobilize the broad spectrum of youth and women's groups in support of Soviet foreign policy objectives. The World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), and the International Union of Students (IUS) were created in the immediate aftermath of World War II when public hopes for the continuation of wartime cooperation between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union were widespread. But the reality of Soviet control over them became quickly apparent to the major noncommunist national affiliates initially participating in these organizations, and most independent groups disassociated themselves within a few years. While the three groups claim a total membership over 360 million, most adherents belong to affiliates in communist-controlled states, and the relatively few members in other countries are generally associated with groups that are not the most representative of their countries' young people or women.

In Leninist theory and practice, front organizations are "transmission belts" whereby elements of the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) are presented to noncommunists who may already sympathize with or support similar policies, but who are unwilling to accept the entire program of the CPSU or submit to party discipline.[1] The utility of this type of support was summed up by the late Bulgarian communist leader Georgi Dimitrov, a secretary general of the former Communist International: "One sympathizer is generally worth more than a dozen militant communists. A writer of reputation and a retired general are worth more than five hundred poor little devils who won't know any better than to get themselves beaten up by the police."[2] A successful front must be able to attract this type of nonparty support for its purpose while still remaining under effective Soviet control—two attributes which are nearly always in tension as can be seen in the three organizations discussed below.

Origins

WFDY. The origins of the World Federation of Democratic Youth began shortly after the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. when representatives of communist youth groups organized a meeting in London in November 1941 to examine ways to mobilize youth against Hitler and in support of the Soviet Union. This meeting attracted support from diverse political groups and led to the formation of the World Youth Council (WYC) in 1942. Immediately after the Allied victory in Europe, the WYC Executive Committee, still under communist influence, called for an international youth conference in London. Meeting in November 1945 in a mood of genuine enthusiasm, delegates from many countries and youth organizations-adopted the constitution of the WFDY and designated Paris as its headquarters. Although initially the new organization had a number of noncommunist youth organizations as affiliates, it followed a clearly pro-Soviet orientation. Most noncommunists left the WFDY within a few years.

IUS. Separate initiatives in 1945 by the British and Czechoslovakian National Unions of Students led to the convening in November 1945 in London of a meeting to plan for a postwar international student organization. Although the London meeting had a noncommunist majority, the International Preparatory Committee (IPC) that it established was strongly influenced by communists. Moreover, the IPC set up an executive committee, whose orientation was clearly pro-Soviet. In early 1946, the IPC approved a suggestion by its Soviet delegate to transfer its headquarters from Paris to Prague where the communists had taken control of the Czechoslovak National Students Union's International Department and were in a position to supply the IPC with a full-time secretariat of disciplined communists.

[1] Lenin frequently used the "transmission belt" image. It was a major theme in his speech of December 30, 1920, to the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions. (See V.I. Lenin, *Selected Notes*, New York, International Publishers, 1943.)

[2] As quoted by Ian Greig in *The Assault on the West*, Petersham, The Foreign Affairs Publishing Co., 1968, pp. 244-245.

In August 1946 a conference met in Prague to establish the IUS. Although the communists were a numerical minority, they were able to elect supporters to 11 of the 16 seats on the Bureau of the Executive Committee of the new organization and win general approval of their more important positions. They achieved this through superior organization, control of the conference's officers (who had been designated by the IPC) and the secretariat, and the disciplined behavior of their partisans in the various national delegations.

Only on the question of subordinating the IUS to the WFDY (according to the Soviet model where the students' organization is a section of the *Komsomol* youth movement) did the communists give ground. As the reality and permanence of communist control of the IUS became clear in the sharp divisions of the emerging "cold war," most of the student organizations from noncommunist countries left. The expulsion of the Yugoslav delegation following the break between Tito and Stalin in 1948 was a particularly important catalyst in the process of disassociation.

WIDF. The Women's International Democratic Federation arose from an initiative of the communist controlled *Union des Femmes Francaises* which convened an inaugural congress in November 1945 in Paris attended by delegations from 40 countries.[4] Communist dominated from the beginning, the WIDF attracted little noncommunist support and largely avoided the wave of disaffiliations that marked the early years of the student and youth federations.

Organization

Basically, the organizational structure of the three fronts is identical. A congress of representatives of national affiliates meets every 3–6 years.[5] The assembly, in turn, selects an executive committee ranging from 50 to 70 members. Generally, the executive committees of the three organizations meet annually. The officers of the executive committee constitute a bureau (generally about 15–20 people) that meets as needed to direct the ongoing activities of the secretariat. The secretariat is an international staff of permanent employees with a predominant representation of host country nationals. In the U.S.S.R., front activities throughout the world are the responsibility of the International Department of the CPSU. Instructions to the fronts are normally transmitted from the International Department by means of the representatives of Soviet affiliates on the organization's bureau or secretariat.

All three organizations are now headquartered in East European capitals: the WIDF in East Berlin, the IUS in Prague, and the WFDY in Budapest. Originally all three organizations were slated to set up in Paris, but the IUS was promptly moved to Prague to facilitate communist control, as noted above, and French authorities asked the WIDF and WFDY to leave in 1951 for anti-host-country activities.

While the theoretical line of authority runs from the congress to the secretariat, in reality the reverse is true. Normally, initiatives which implement Moscow's line are taken by the secretariats acting on their own or in consultation with the bureaus. These are presented to the executive committees and the assemblies at their scheduled meetings for pro forma ratification as a presidential report drafted by the secretariat. There is no record that a report has ever been rejected by a "higher" body. A former Irish member of the IUS secretariat was quoted in the *Irish Press* of January 30, 1980, as saying that when he served in Prague in the early 1970s the Soviet IUS bureau representative, Vice President Vladimir Ponomarev, was the dominant influence on the secretariat although not officially a member.[6] According to this account, even the conclusions of biweekly meetings of the secretariat were worked out in advance by Ponomarev and his supporters and then imposed upon dissenters.

All three fronts have a well-articulated structure. The IUS, for example, has an elaborate system of regional committees apparently to facilitate cooperation with regional student organizations in which noncommunists predominate. It also maintains an International Students Research Center which prepares propaganda materials and a student service organization which provides scholarship grants enabling Third World students to attend Soviet and East European universities. The WIDF's Regional Center in Havana has given courses to almost 300 women since it was established in 1978. The WFDY has permanent bureaus for children's and adolescents' affairs, tourism and youth exchanges, and voluntary service activities.

The three youth and women's organizations publish both periodical propaganda magazines and regular in-house newsletters. The propaganda magazines specialize in descriptions of the blissful life of students, youth, and women in the Soviet bloc and the oppressed conditions of their counterparts in the West. The title of two recent articles in the WIDF's publication are indicative of the approach: "Reminiscences of the Mongolian People's Republic. On the Road to a New Life" and "Children in USA Need Bread—Not Bombs."[7] The magazines are printed on expensive coated paper and have numerous color photos and no advertisements. The newsletters are more modest in format and generally confined to a few pages describing the organization's activities. All these publications are produced in four or more languages. In addition, the IUS publishes a bilingual newsletter, the *IUS Bulletin*, on its Latin American activities and may have other regional publications.

None of the three front organizations makes financial data available on a regular basis, and no treasurers' reports are submitted at the periodic congresses. Their publications contain no appeals for donations from supporters, and affiliation does not seem to require any financial support for the international organizations. One possible source of support is suggested by occasional expressions of appreciation for members of affiliates in bloc countries who have "volunteered" to work on a holiday and contributed the proceeds to the international organization. The Moscow Youth Festival in 1957 was financed in part by the proceeds of a lottery organized by the Soviet youth organization, *Komsomol*. It is clear, however, that these organizations receive a direct subsidy from the Soviet Union and other communist states. In 1981, the U.S. Government estimated that expenditures implied by the wide-ranging activities of the three fronts totaled $2,870,000 per year.[8]

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[4]The pre-war Comintern had an International Women's Secretariat.

[5]The congress of the WFDY is called a general assembly and recently has been meeting every 4 years. The IUS Congress is held every 3 years, and the WIDF allowed 6 years to elapse between its 7th congress in 1975 and its 8th congress in 1981.

[6]Irish representation on the IUS secretariat ended when the Union of Students in Ireland withdrew in 1981, after its principal officers, who had been supported by the Communist Party of Ireland and the Sinn Fein Workers Party (both pro-Moscow), were defeated at the union's annual congress.

[7]*Women of the Whole World*, 1983, No. 2.

[8]The estimates of annual staff salaries, administrative costs, travel, publications, public meetings, and in-house meetings, are: IUS, $905,000; WFDY, $1,575,000; and WIDF, $390,000. *Soviet Covert Action (The Forgery Offensive)* hearings before the Subcommittee on Oversight of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, February 6 and 19, 1980, Washington, D.C., U.S. GPO, 1980).

Following the Soviet Line

Because these groups are primary Moscow-controlled fronts, their activities have necessarily followed the changing orientations of Soviet international relations. The period from 1947 to 1953 was dominated by the Soviet slogan of "two camps": the Soviets led the so-called peace camp, and the United States, its allies, and others were labeled the imperialist camp. This rubric permitted no middle ground. Anyone not clearly for the Soviet line automatically became an "imperialist." This dichotomy was manifested in the fronts by the abrupt expulsion of their Yugoslav affiliates, as previously noted, and by the torrent of anti-Western propaganda which climaxed in the campaign of disinformation charging the United States with using "germ warfare" in the Korean war.[8] In Europe, the priority task for the organizations was to support the activities of another front, the World Peace Council, in promoting the Stockholm Peace Appeal and the "ban the bomb" campaign of the early 1950s. In East and South Asia, the fronts backed the communist-sponsored insurrections of the late 1940s, and some scholars believe that secret instructions to start armed uprisings were passed by the Soviet representatives at the WFDY/IUS "Conference of Youth and Students of South East Asia Fighting for Freedom and Independence" that was held in Calcutta in February 1948.[9]

After the death of Stalin in March 1953, Soviet policy became less confrontational, eventually adopting the slogan of "peaceful coexistence." Observers noted this new tone 4 months later in the IUS congress in Warsaw. For the first time in years, there were no orchestrated demonstrations against the West and the language of the "anti-imperialist" resolution was milder. The Yugoslav student organization was invited (but declined) to participate. All three fronts in this period tended to close down sham national affiliates (paper organizations created to give an appearance of broader geographical representation at international congresses) in order to facilitate cooperation with more representative national groupings. In 1954 this policy of flexibility led to the reentry of the British National Union of Students in the IUS as an associate member, a newly established category which did not carry the constitutional obligation to follow IUS directives. While the front's failure to condemn the Soviet armed suppression of the Hungarian revolution of 1956 frustrated their outreach efforts in the West, criticism of the Anglo-French operation in the Suez later that year brought the organization renewed respectability in many nonaligned nations.

Especially since 1960, the efforts of the women's and youth fronts have become increasingly regional in focus. In Latin America, Castro's popularity among radically inclined youth opened new possibilities for the IUS and WFDY to expand their influence. In Africa, the formation in the newly independent nations of local women's and youth groups—which were often hesitant to establish friendly links with their former colonial powers—opened new opportunities for cooperation for the Soviet fronts.

Keeping Control. Front groups typically take elaborate measures to assure that potential challenges to the pro-

[8]Disinformation (desinformatsiya) in the Soviet theory of ideological struggle is the deliberate dissemination of false or distorted information in order to weaken or mislead a political adversary.

[9]See Peter T. Jones, *The History of U.S. National Student Association: Relations with the International Union of Students, 1945–1956*, University of Pennsylvania, 1956, p. 36, and J. M. Mackintosh, *Strategy and Tactics of Soviet Foreign Policy*, Oxford University Press, 1963, pp. 54–55. Also Greig, op. cit., p. 273.

Sino-Soviet Split

In the early 1960s, international meetings of the women's and youth fronts were characterized by bitter rivalry between Soviet and Chinese delegations and their partisans. (One of the earliest indications of the impending break in communist unity occurred at an IUS meeting in 1958 when a Chinese delegate accused the Yugoslavs of "revisionism" for advocating positions that the Soviets also supported. The Chinese later used this term against the Soviet Union itself.) The issue seemed of little interest to new affiliates of the international fronts. Delegations from Africa and elsewhere protested the excessive amount of meeting time devoted to it. By 1966 the Chinese had ceased to participate in the three organizations and even tried unsuccessfully to set up rival international federations sympathetic to their views. Apparently, however, the Chinese did not formally disaffiliate, and the women's and youth fronts still include tens of millions of nonparticipating Chinese among their claimed membership.

Moscow policies invariably followed by the secretariats are headed off at executive committee and assembly meetings. The groups' secretariats control the agenda and organization of meetings in a number of ways designed to stifle dissent. The presiding officers are chosen for their reliability. Controversial subjects are discussed only in smaller commissions, not in plenary, if discussion cannot be avoided completely. Votes are not taken, and decisions, including the selection of officers, and resolutions are normally approved by consensus as defined by the presiding officer. The formal record of the meetings—prepared by the organizations' secretariats—never reflects divergence from Moscow-approved positions.

However, despite all these formidable obstacles to dissent, not all participants at the larger meetings always agree with the official line. When Soviet troops overthrew the Dubcek government in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, the Czech president of the IUS, Zbynek Vokronhlicky, denounced the occupation and called for the organization to protest. The IUS secretariat did not respond, and in October Vokronhlicky withdrew his request for formal condemnation. In September 1969, he was purged from the Central Committee of the Czech student organization and from the IUS presidency. The Italian president of the WFDY also protested the invasion on a personal basis and was promptly replaced. None of the three women's and youth fronts ever took a formal position on the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

At the 11th general assembly of the WFDY in 1982, the British representatives of the Young Communist League, affiliated with the independent British Communist Party, expressed their disapproval of the imposition of martial law in Poland, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the organization's condemnation of China, and the group's policy that the United States and its allies were the exclusive source of world tension. None of this was reflected in reports on the meeting by Moscow-line media nor in the *WFDY News*, the federation's newsletter. (*WFDY News*' account of the general assembly reprinted in full the statement of the Soviet delegate, the only speech reported. It also highlighted an interview with the WFDY's newly elected president, characterized by such questions as: "Imperialism led by U.S. imperialism threatens mankind with disaster. How is the WFDY prepared to meet this dangerous challenge?")

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Supporting "Peace" Movements. The activities of the women's and youth fronts are primarily political rather than oriented to constituent services. Currently, all are giving priority to a range of "peace" themes, especially opposition to the deployment of NATO intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. In order to stress these themes, the primary fronts sponsor conferences, issue pamphlets and statements, address UN and other international meetings to which they have access, and undertake functional activities with a "peace" theme. An example of the latter would be a 1983 summer "peace cruise" organized by the Tourism and Youth Exchange Bureau of the WFDY.

National affiliates of the primary fronts, according to their publications, take credit for such activities as having "co-organized" the June 1982 demonstration in Bonn on the occasion of President Reagan's visit. The Swedish affiliate of the WFDY claims it started a campaign that collected 800,000 signatures for a Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone and brought together the organizers of a major peace rally in Goteborg. The British Young Communist League (associated with the WFDY) takes pride in having organized the distribution of leaflets at the October 1981 peace demonstration in London and in helping to establish the youth wing of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Participants in two IUS winter sports camps held in Germany in early 1983 heard lectures on IUS "peace activities."

Other Activities. While "peace" agitation—always with a pro-Soviet slant—has priority, the three organizations also advocate positions on a variety of other international and regional issues. Special emphasis is currently accorded Central America, Lebanon, the Palestinian problem, Afghanistan, Poland, Vietnam, Kampuchea, China, the Indian Ocean zone of peace, and selected "liberation movements" around the world. Invariably, the fronts' position coincides with that of the Soviet Union. At times, the fronts' efforts to follow the Soviet line require quick footwork. Through the middle 1970s, for example, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in northern Ethiopia regularly was listed in front resolutions among the worthy revolutionary movements. With the fall of Emperor Haile Selassie and the consolidation of power by the Soviet-supported Mengistu government, the ELF has ceased to receive the fronts' support.

International Cooperation

Much of the three groups' activity is directed at establishing and maintaining cooperation with a variety of regional and national organizations of various political hues. Representatives of the WFDY, IUS, and WIDF send observers to a bewildering number of meetings sponsored by noncommunist or, at least, nonaffiliated organizations. Members of the secretariats and executive bureaus make several trips a year to different regions calling not only on affiliates but also on independent national and regional organizations, presumably to discuss "cooperation." They cosponsor a large number of symposia on subjects of common interest with other organizations, such as a seminar on disarmament held in Moscow in May 1983 that was one of a series jointly sponsored by the WFDY and the International Union of Socialist Youth. In addition, a symposium on "Liberation in Africa" was jointly sponsored by the IUS and the All-Africa Students' Union in Guinea-Bissau in March 1983. This type of activity is especially important to the fronts as a means of fulfilling the "transmission belt" role with audiences that may be sympathetic to elements of the Soviet program but are unwilling to submit to rigid communist discipline on all issues.

Youth Festivals and Women's Congresses

The WFDY and the IUS have jointly sponsored a series of 11 World Youth Festivals since 1947. These large-scale events mix politics with sports, entertainment, and international camaraderie. Each has attracted over 10,000 participants, and the latest festival, held in Havana in 1978, may have brought together 25,000 young people. The political theme—to present the youth of the world as enthusiastically following the Soviet lead—is more persuasive if the festivals are held outside the communist bloc. However, the two which have been held elsewhere—Vienna (1959) and Helsinki (1962)—were not particularly successful: in Vienna there was a noncommunist counterrally, and the Helsinki festival was reportedly considered by its organizers to be disappointing in attendance and political effect. Plans to hold the next World Youth Festival again in Helsinki have reportedly fallen through, and the date and venue have not yet been announced. The emphasis on the festivals reflects the special place communist ideology accords to youth, who are considered a potential "revolutionary vanguard" whose natural energy and often idealistic desire for change can contribute to the "ideological struggle."

Although conducted on a smaller scale than the WFDY/IUS festivals, the WIDF organizes a World Congress of Women in conjunction with the periodic congresses of the organization. The most recent, held in Prague in October 1981, attracted 1,000 delegates from 132 countries. It was held under the rubric of the UN Decade for Women, and 18 UN agencies were among those represented. A Yugoslav report on the event noted that opportunities to speak at the plenum were limited to those selected beforehand; any delegates likely to attribute responsibility for world tensions to both the East and West were excluded. When the Japanese delegate tried to state this position in plenary she was bodily pushed out of the hall. Others who subsequently attempted to speak found that the microphone had been disconnected. Finally, the plenary session had to be abruptly terminated to prevent the possible intervention of speakers unacceptable to the organizers.

Participating in UN Activities

All three youth and women's fronts try to maintain close relations with the UN system of organizations. The WIDF, for example, has consultative status (level I) with the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), consultative status (level B) with the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), consultative status with UNICEF, and is on the International Labor Organization's special list. The youth organizations maintain similarly privileged relations with UN agencies and participate regularly in the activities of UN organizations while inviting UN representatives to attend their own. The fronts also play an active role in the conferences of nongovernmental organizations (NGO) having consultative status with ECOSOC and UNESCO. All three women's and youth organizations have been elected to the 20-member presidium of the ECOSOC NGO organization and a WIDF official served at least two terms as chairman of the UNESCO NGO conference.

Maintaining the Pretense of Independence

The three youth and women's fronts play a number of roles in the conduct of Soviet foreign relations. The illusion of being member-controlled nongovernmental organizations allows

their spokespersons to advocate official Soviet positions to an array of private organizations which normally shun participation by governments. This is particularly true of the generally loose-knit "peace" movements where affiliates of the fronts are extremely active among the organizers of demonstrations, rallies, symposia, and the like.

The fronts also have played a prominent role in the Soviet efforts to establish reliable channels of influence in Third World regions. Here the Soviets' commitment to "anti-imperialism" appears to offer a community of interest with authentic local organizations of women, youth, and students. Normally under financial stress and lacking organizational expertise, some Third World organizations see benefits in conducting joint programs with the affluent women's and youth fronts. Moreover, as nominally independent organizations, the fronts are able to give selective support to those programs of UN agencies which accord with Soviet aims and, as participants in UN-related meetings, increase the frequency with which pro-Soviet views are expounded. These types of activities are adaptations to the contemporary realities of the classic "transmission belt" role of front organizations.

Fortunately, the insistence by front groups on strict adherence to the Soviet line often works against them. Because of the imperative of continuing and detailed conformity to Soviet positions,[18] the women's and youth international fronts generally have not been able permanently to attract affiliates widely representative of women and youth in noncommunist countries. Typically, participants from noncommunist countries are either closely tied to Moscow-line communist parties or members of extreme leftist factions that are sympathetic to the Soviet Union's anti-West orientation (although some may be resistant to Moscow's control of the activities).

Given obvious pro-Soviet bias among the membership, the endless stream of front publications, resolutions, declarations, telegrams of solidarity or protest, and innumerable meetings has only minor impact, except among those already inclined to a Marxist world view. But among those so inclined, these organizations play a major role in coordinating the activities of youth and women's groups around the world, instructing them on the "correct" position on current issues, and continuing to attract to the Soviet orbit of influence an array of pliant sympathizers—the "writer of reputation and retired general" on which Dimitrov placed such high value.

[18] Within days of the shooting down by a Soviet fighter plane of a Korean airliner on August 31, 1983, the WFDY issued a statement condemning the United States' "provocative policy" and "campaign of slander."

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Foreign Affairs Note

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SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES: THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

April 1985

Since its inception in 1917, the U.S.S.R. has sought the support of noncommunist individuals and groups to lend credibility and general appeal to its domestic and foreign policies. To this end, the Soviet Union maintains a network of international organizations which, while purporting to be nongovernmental groupings of people with common causes, are, in fact, facades, or fronts, for communist policies and initiatives. They are financed and controlled by the U.S.S.R., and their campaigns are largely directed against the interests of Western nations. The World Peace Council (WPC) is the archetypical front organization.

The World Peace Council was founded in 1949 as the World Committee of Partisans for Peace and adopted its present title in 1950. The WPC was based in Paris until 1951 when the French Government expelled it for "fifth column activities." The WPC moved to Prague and then to Vienna in 1954, where it remained until banned in 1957 for "activities directed against the Austrian state." However, it continued to operate in Vienna as the "International Institute for Peace" until it moved to its present location in Helsinki in 1968. It remained in Vienna, presumably as the WPC's research organization.

> *Particularly annoying were the ceaseless requests from Moscow to assist the Soviet-controlled World Peace Council. That organization, which was headed by an Indian, Romesh Chandra, swarmed with KGB officers. Every year I was expected to help organize Chandra's speeches to UN bodies, arrange his meetings with UN officials, distribute Council propaganda, and persuade Waldheim to send Secretariat representatives to attend various Council-sponsored conferences. Moscow wanted to boost the Council's prestige by creating high visibility via UN recognition of the Council's "great role in the world movement for peace." I never developed a skin thick enough not to cringe inwardly with embarrassment when I approached Waldheim's deputies with my next recommendation for UN participation in another World Peace Council activity. I never became immune to their patient, knowing smiles when I insistently proposed that the Secretary General's upcoming statement praise whatever latest peace initiative the U.S.S.R. wanted to push no matter how transparent the initiative might be. Moscow even demanded that I try to get Waldheim to praise Soviet Communist Party gatherings.*
>
> Arkady N. Shevchenko,
> former Soviet Undersecretary General
> of the United Nations,
> *Breaking With Moscow* (March 1985, p. 225)

The WPC seeks support in the Third World by posing as an independent body identifying with such causes as the new international economic order, anticolonialism, and assistance to "liberation movements." In NATO countries it exploits fears of nuclear war by stimulating and/or sponsoring antinuclear rallies and advocating Soviet-supported disarmament policies. The WPC attracts some prestigious noncommunist figures—literary, humanitarian, scientific—who are motivated by a genuine concern for peace but not dissuaded by the preponderance of Soviet and pro-Soviet personnel in key WPC decisionmaking positions. Total membership information never has been made public. Most members do not belong to the WPC itself but to about 142 national "peace committees" (e.g., the Nicaraguan Peace Committee, the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace (SCDP), and the Danish Liaison Committee for Peace and Security). Historically, it has been the function of such fronts to mobilize people not normally reached by local, Moscow-linked communist parties.

Soviet Organizational Control

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Central Committee maintains de facto control over the WPC through a sector of the CPSU Central Committee's International Department (ID), which is responsible exclusively for front organizations. This sector apparently falls under the general responsibility of Vitaliy Shaposhnikov, a deputy ID chief and a member of the WPC's Presidential Committee. Other prominent officials through which Soviet control of the WPC is exercised include Yuriy Zhukov, CPSU Central Committee candidate member, longtime *Pravda* journalist, SCDP chairman, and WPC Presidential Committee member, and Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Oriental Institute, an SCDP first deputy chairman, and a WPC vice president.[1] Through such direct lines to key WPC officials (WPC President Romesh Chandra heads the Presidential Committee, for example), the CPSU shapes WPC projects, prioritizes campaigns and activities, and structures the contents of WPC statements and communiques.

[1] Zhukov was elected SCDP chairman at a March 26, 1982 SCDP plenary session in Moscow. Because the SCDP chairman plays a vital role in the coordination of activities and financial assistance between Moscow and WPC headquarters in Helsinki, he always has held the position of WPC vice president, 1 of approximately 25 who are elected at the WPC's triennial world peace assemblies. Such elections were held at the last such conclave, the World Assembly for Peace and Life in Prague, June 21-26, 1983, but—in a break with past practice—Zhukov was not among those reelected. According to the July-August edition of the WPC publication *Peace Courier*, Primakov (instead of Zhukov) was listed as WPC vice president. Zhukov's failure to be reelected appeared to have culminated a year of press polemic between Zhukov and ID officials over the extent to which the U.S.S.R. should cooperate with noncommunist elements of the peace movement—particularly those elements that criticized Soviet foreign and defense policies. Zhukov's hardline position against cooperation was epitomized by a letter he wrote to prominent European peace activists in December 1982 (see Appendix I). ID officials—including chief Boris Ponomarev, deputy chief Vadim Zagladin, and others—authored numerous articles in high-level Soviet journals in which they urged cooperation among all peace forces, regardless of political or ideological orientation. This line continues to be advocated today both by Moscow and the WPC.

Dissent Within the WPC

The WPC and similar fronts regularly face internal problems because their Soviet affiliation cannot always be reconciled with an image of independence and nonalignment. In 1949, for example, following the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform, the WPC expelled Yugoslav representatives and purged its ranks of so-called Titoists. Similarly, the Sino-Soviet dispute led to the WPC's ostracism of China. Nikita Khrushchev's revelations of Stalinist excesses at the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress in 1956 and the suppression of the Hungarian uprising by Soviet troops the following November cost the fronts considerable popular support.

After the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, Moscow had to replace many front officials in order to restore discipline. Criticism of the WPC's close alignment with the U.S.S.R. persisted, however: the WPC's eighth world assembly in East Berlin in June 1969 was widely criticized by various participants for its lack of spontaneity and carefully orchestrated Soviet supervision.

As the British General Secretary of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace and a delegate to the 1969 assembly wrote:

> There were a number [of delegates] who decided to vote against the general resolution for three reasons (a) it was platitudinous (b) it was one sided and (c) in protest against restrictions on minorities and the press within the assembly. This proved impossible in the end for no vote was taken. (*Tribune*, July 4, 1969)

Those anxious to liberalize the WPC from the "straitjacket of its Soviet face" were blocked by the presence of too many pro-Soviet delegates and the practice of holding controversial discussions "behind closed doors."

Although opposition to Soviet control over the WPC occasionally occurs within the organization, leaders usually are able to confine criticism to small, private meetings. Dissenting views are seldom aired in large-scale, WPC-sponsored public gatherings. When they are, they either are suppressed during the proceedings or ignored in WPC-approved documents. Such was the case at the WPC's World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, October 1973. Before the Congress, the War Resisters' International, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace jointly appealed to all participating organizations to raise the questions of freedom of speech and the treatment of dissidents in the U.S.S.R. The appeal was not acknowledged.

A Belgian delegate, addressing the congress' Commission on Human Rights, asked the congress to "demand that the Soviet Government grant amnesty to political prisoners, and to bring to light those forms of repression practiced in the U.S.S.R.," declaring that the disappearance of a "silent minority" into camps, prisons, and psychiatric asylums "could not be condoned." Soviet-bloc delegates denounced these comments as "interference in the internal affairs of Socialist countries," and the Soviet jurist, V. Kudryavtsev, accused the Belgian delegate of "incompetence and ignorance." *Pravda* (October 31, 1973) described the remarks as a "trite collection of anti-Soviet propaganda."

Similarly, Nobel Peace Prize winner Andrey Sakharov's message to a 1976 WPC-sponsored forum on disarmament in York, England, was not read to delegates as Sakharov had requested. At WPC meetings in 1977, questions from noncommunist participants about human rights violations in the

U.S.S.R. never appeared in official reports. The December 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan generated considerable debate within the WPC; 2 months elapsed before the WPC was able to issue a statement endorsing it.

The Soviet Peace Fund and WPC

CPSU International Department Deputy Chief Vadim Zagladin, in an interview with the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung* (May 21, 1982) discussed Moscow's view of the European peace movement and explained how Soviet peace activities are meshed with those in Europe:

> We highly appreciate the peace movement as an expression of the people's will to prevent war. . . . We also have a mass peace movement, but it expresses itself in other forms. . . . Our young people are now writing letters to Brussels, to the NATO organizations. Over 6 million youths have written such letters. Although May 9 was an official holiday, several working brigades came to work and collected all the money they had earned for the Soviet Peace Fund.

In response to the question "What did they do with the money?" Zagladin stated:

> You have several peace committees for European security. They are printing newspapers, and all Soviet participants in peace demonstrations here in Vienna, Amsterdam or Brussels are being paid with the money from this fund. I think that we do not inform the public sufficiently about our peace movement.

According to available information, the Soviet Peace Fund is a type of financial clearinghouse administered by the SCDP. It is nationally organized with at least 120 representatives throughout the U.S.S.R. Like the SCDP itself, the Peace Fund is a "public" organization, allegedly operating without the involvement of official Soviet organs.

In a May 22 appearance on Moscow television, SCDP chairman Zhukov elaborated on the source of the Fund's income. He observed that some 80 million Soviet citizens participate in "replenishment" of the fund. "Donations" are mailed to SCDP headquarters or paid through the U.S.S.R. state bank. The most common method of collecting money for the fund is for individual factories, plants, and collective farms to hold a 2-day "work shift for peace," similar to the activity of the "working brigades" cited by Zagladin. Individuals participating in such work shifts then "donate" their day's wages to the fund. According to *20th Century and Peace* (December 1981), the Krasnoyarsk Peace Committee alone received 2 million rubles (about U.S. $1.5 million) for the fund in 1981. Actually, such "donations" usually represent levies imposed by the central authorities on the individual local affiliates which include peace committees in Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities and regions in the U.S.S.R.

> *The Soviet Union invariably supports the peace movement. The World Peace Council, in its turn, positively reacts to all Soviet initiatives in international affairs. Wider mobilization of public opinion in support of the Soviet Union's peaceful initiatives . . . would help further to improve the world climate.*
>
> WPC President Romesh Chandra, *New Times*, No. 28, Moscow, 1975

According to the English-language weekly *Moscow News* (No. 19, 1981), the Soviet Peace Fund helps finance some of the WPC's "large public initiatives." Former Peace Fund chairman Boris Polevoi asserted that his clients included the "leaders of the international democratic organizations working for peace: the fund regularly gives them assistance in organizing their undertakings" (*20th Century and Peace*, April 1980). Polevoi also acknowledged that the fund worked closely with the SCDP to "render financial aid to the organizations, movements and personalities fighting for stronger peace, national independence and freedom."

Referring to the October 1973 World Congress of Peace Forces, an event organized jointly by the SCDP and the WPC, the November 1973 edition of the WPC's *Peace Courier* reported that "Soviet public organizations . . . covered all the delegates' maintenance expenses in Moscow." It also claimed that "Soviet citizens donated to the Soviet Peace Fund—which covered the delegates' maintenance expenses—about $200,000. Moscow's Patriarchate also donated 3 million rubles."

Soviet Life (February 1983) reported that the fund "finances any undertaking aimed at strengthening peace and establishing better understanding among nations." It quoted Freda Brown, head of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) and a WPC vice president, who asserted in 1979 at a WIDF peace conference in Moscow that the money to conduct the gathering had come from the Soviet Peace Fund.

Money collected by the Soviet Peace Fund presumably is channeled to WPC headquarters in Helsinki either through the International Department and/or through the SCDP. Many peace committee chapters affiliated with the WPC are believed to receive Soviet assistance via local Soviet Embassies and communist parties. (For example, in October 1981, Danish authorities expelled Vladimir Merkulov, a Soviet Embassy second secretary and KGB operative charged with passing money to Arne Herlov-Peterson, a long-time KGB agent-of-influence and member of the WPC's Danish affiliate, the Copenhagen-based Liaison Committee for Peace and Security. Peterson used the money to finance a newspaper campaign calling for the establishment of a Nordic nuclear-weapons-free zone.)

Financial irregularities forced the WPC to withdraw its application for reclassification to Category I Consultative Status in its relationship with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) at a session of the Committee of Non-Government Organizations held February 9–19, 1981, in New York. According to the *ECOSOC Report* (March 16, 1981), WPC accounts

> are not submitted to an independent audit. . . . the financial statement submitted to the committee covered only a fraction of the WPC's actual income and expenditures. . . . In its application, the World Peace Council also stated that it does not receive contributions from any government. . . . But the representative of the organization [Romesh Chandra] carefully avoided answering specific questions put to him by members of the committee on that point. It is clear, however, that the World Peace Council has received large-scale financial support from government sources, and has gone to great lengths to conceal the fact from the committee.

More recently, the Executive Secretary of the WPC, Frank Swift (U.K.), when queried about WPC funding, commented: "I can assure you no money comes from Soviet government funds but from peace committees in the Soviet Union and in East and West Europe." (Irish *Sunday Tribune*, March 11, 1984)

Recent Anti-Western Campaigns

Since its original "Stockholm appeal" for "banning the bomb" in 1950, the WPC has consistently advanced Soviet positions on controversial international issues. For example, in conjunction with other front organizations, it established the "Stockholm Conference on Vietnam," active from 1967 until the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina in 1973. It supported the "International Commission of Inquiry into U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam," created in 1970 as a subsidiary of the Stockholm Conference. Throughout the Vietnam war, the WPC sent many "peace" delegations to North Vietnam and regularly issued statements supporting Soviet policy on the war. In March 1979 following the Sino-Vietnamese border clashes, the WPC staged an "International Conference on Vietnam" to condemn the Chinese and organized a "special conference" in Hanoi to mark the 90th anniversary of the birth of Ho Chi Minh in 1980.

The antineutron bomb campaign initiated in mid-1977 claimed that the United States was pursuing military policies that disregarded the interests of its European allies. The WPC proclaimed August 6–13, 1977, a "Week of Action" against the bomb and organized peace and antibomb demonstrations in Europe, Africa, Latin America, and the Near East. President Carter's decision to postpone development of the neutron warhead was then touted as a victory for world "peace forces."

During the last few years, the WPC has intensified its efforts to influence European public opinion against NATO deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe (in response to continuing Soviet SS-20 deployments there), devoting particular attention to noncommunist elements of the European peace movement. (See Appendix I for details on Soviet-WPC efforts to court the peace movement.) Elsewhere, the organization has sought to discredit the United States and its allies around the world with "conferences" and "seminars" which carefully exclude any consideration of controversial Soviet policies or actions.

1981. The WPC Presidential Committee meeting in Havana (April 19–21) adopted resolutions calling for common action against the "threat of war and the arms race", condemning the deployment of U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean, Indochina, and Korea; and supporting Soviet "peace proposals" such as Moscow's call for a freeze on medium-range missiles in Europe. In May, the WPC sponsored a Nordic Peace Forces' Conference in Aalborg, Denmark, and in June, two gatherings devoted to ending the arms race and demonstrating solidarity with Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Later that month, WPC President Chandra personally headed a march in Salonica protesting U.S. bases in Greece. On November 30, Chandra told a press conference in New Delhi that the WPC was seeking a "winter offensive" in support of the "mass movement for disarmament" and further attacked the U.S. Government's moves of "aggression and intervention" the world over.

1982. The WPC Presidential Committee met in Copenhagen January 6–8 for discussions concerning the tasks of the "peace forces in the struggle for disarmament and security in Europe;" the final document issued after the gathering denounced NATO deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe but made no mention of continuing Soviet deployment of SS-20 missiles there. An International Disarmament Conference in Vienna (January 29-February 1), sponsored by the WPC's International Liaison Forum of Peace Forces (ILFPF), urged the creation of nuclear-free zones and called for a ban on chemical weapons. In February, the WPC staged a conference on the "Imperialist Arms Buildup" in the Middle East (February 6–9 in Aden). On April 23–25, a WPC-sponsored International Conference on the Indian Ocean in New Delhi urged the creation of a "zone of peace" in the region while attacking the British, German, French, and Australian presence there. In mid-August, the WPC hosted an international commission to "investigate Israeli crimes" against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples (August 15–16 in Nicosia). An International Conference on Socio-Economic Development staged in Kabul, November 12–15, condemned the "machinations of imperialism against peace and freedom" and condemned the "undeclared war" being waged against Afghanistan. Speakers at the Kabul meeting included Romesh Chandra and Dr. Najib, the head of the Afghan security services, KHAD. (*Kabul Radio*, November 12 and 16)

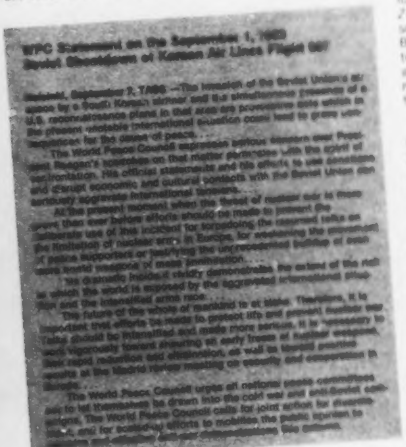
1983. An ILFPF gathering in Vienna in early January overwhelmingly endorsed the U.S.S.R.'s peace proposals; speakers at the meeting included *Pravda* editor-in-chief Viktor Afanasyev, also an ILFPF vice president. Later that month, the WPC-related Generals for Peace (see Appendix II) met in Vienna to plan future activities. These included participation in anti-American "tribunals" designed to discredit Western defense policies. During 1983, the WPC also sponsored an international forum on Southeast Asia, which supported Soviet "peace initiatives" in the region (February 25–26 in Phnom Penh and co-hosted by the Cambodian Peace Committee); an international conference in solidarity with front-line states in southern Africa (March 25–27 in Lisbon; boycotted by the main Portuguese political parties because of its Soviet connection); an international "seminar" on war, which charged the U.S. "military-industrial complex" with preparing for a nuclear war (Havana, April 16–19); the World Assembly for Peace and Life Against Nuclear War (Prague, June 21–26; see Appendix III); an international conference condemning an alleged Israeli-South African "alliance" and U.S. support thereof (Vienna, July 11–13); an "emergency peace meeting" called to discuss Central America and to declare a week of solidarity with the peoples of the region who had become "targets of the expansionist actions of the present U.S. Administration" (Mexico City, November 2–4); and an international disarmament conference, attended by 400 delegates from 60 countries, which expressed opposition to NATO defense policies (Vienna, November 14–17).

The World Peace Council . . . will spare no effort to promote further unity among the peace forces.

WPC President Romesh Chandra, World Marxist Review, No. 12, Prague, December 1981

1984. A WPC-sponsored emergency Presidential Committee meeting in West Berlin (January 22–24) issued an appeal to all "peace forces" to continue the "struggle against the deployment of U.S. rockets" in Europe. An ILFPF-hosted peace meeting in Stockholm (March 11–12) called once again for support of nuclear-free zones in central and northern Europe. An international peace conference in Quito (July 16–18) endorsed Soviet peace proposals, while an ILFPF meeting in Geneva (September 10–12) discussed ways of promoting cooperation between the United Nations and world peace forces. The WPC hosted a "peace dialogue" in Toronto (November 23–25) attended by some 300 "public figures, clergymen, and scientists who issued an appeal against nuclear war, discussed the WPC's future actions program and cooperation among "all antiwar groupings," and blamed the arms race exclusively on the United States. That same month, the WPC called for week-long demonstrations and protests, commencing December 5, at U.S. Embassies, consulates, and military bases around the world to "condemn the military policies of Washington." (*Rude Pravo*, November 10)

1985. Major gatherings so far this year have included an ILFPF-sponsored international peace meeting in Vienna (January 24–28) which attracted more than 400 delegates. Resolutions were adopted urging a halt to the development of "space weapons" and the "militarization of space." At a WPC Presidium session in Moscow (March 22–25), President Chandra condemned "perfidious" U.S. plans to transfer the arms race to space, the undeclared U.S. "war" against Nicaragua, and Washington's support for Israel's "criminal acts" against Lebanon and the Palestinians. He also called for support for Central American peace initiatives; zones of peace in Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean, and the Mediterranean; and nuclear-free zones in northern Europe and the Balkans (*Pravda*, March 23). Despite his call for a unification of all the world's "peace forces," Chandra did not mention Moscow's harassment and imprisonment of Soviet "unofficial" peace activists. The conclave's final declaration urged "all peace forces" to unite in "mass actions" for peace, against "revanchism and neofascism," against the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (TASS, March 25, and *Pravda*, March 26).



WPC Statement on the September 1, 1983
Soviet Shootdown of Korean Air Lines Flight 007

Helsinki, September 2, TASS. —The invasion of the Soviet Union's airspace by a South Korean airliner and the simultaneous presence of a U.S. reconnaissance plane in that area are provocative acts which in the present volatile international situation could lead to grave consequences for the cause of peace. . . .

The World Peace Council expresses serious concern over President Reagan's statement on that incident permeated with the spirit of confrontation. His official statements and his efforts to use sometimes arbitrary aggressive international tensions.

At the present moment, when the threat of nuclear war is more real than ever before efforts should be made to prevent the deliberate use of this incident for torpedoing the resumed talks on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe, for weakening the movement of peace supporters and for whipping the unprecedented hostilities of cold war and international tension.

The dramatic incident vividly demonstrates the extent of the risk to which the world is exposed by the aggravated international situation and the intensified arms race.

The future of the world is at stake. Therefore, it is important that efforts be made to protect life and prevent another war. Talks should be intensified and made more serious. It is necessary to work vigorously toward ensuring an early freeze of nuclear weapons, their rapid reduction and elimination, as well as toward practical results at the Madrid review meeting on security and cooperation in Europe.

The World Peace Council urges all national peace committees not to let themselves be drawn into the cold war and anti-Soviet campaign. The World Peace Council calls for joint action for disarmament, and for successful efforts to mobilize the public opinion to prevent any attempts to unleash another world conflagration.

APPENDIX I

The WPC and the European Peace Movement

Because of its unqualified support for controversial Soviet foreign policies and refusal to criticize any Soviet actions, the WPC has since 1979 lost substantial credibility among non-communist European peace groups. This ostracism has complicated Soviet efforts to effect a tactical rapprochement with independent peace activists critical of the nuclear arms policies of both superpowers.[1]

In an effort to overcome the credibility gap and promote a united anti-U.S. peace platform in Europe, the WPC together with the SCDP attended the third European Nuclear Disarmament (END) convention in Perugia, Italy, July 17–21, 1984.[2]

Soviet media just before the END convention played up the theme of cooperation of European peace forces and downplayed allegations of aggressive Soviet military designs on the continent. For example, the communique issued after the July 11–12 meeting of bloc ideology secretaries in Prague, published on July 14 in *Pravda*, attributed the "growing dangers to peace" to the United States but nevertheless urged "joint action" of peace loving forces. The communique also proclaimed an Eastern readiness for "active political dialogue and cooperation" with "various social and political forces of the antiwar and antimissile movement." Krasnaya Zvezda the same day pointedly denied rumors of an allegedly secret decision to deploy Soviet medium-range missiles in Bulgaria. And on July 17 opening day of the Perugia convention Radio Moscow termed the antiwar movement a "weighty and permanently active factor" in world politics, praised its mass character, and predicted "a new battle in the struggle for peace."

"WPC and Soviet contacts (see) tactical and ideological splits in the West European peace movement was expressed in a letter from WPC President (and Committee member/SCDP chairman Yuriy Zhukov sent in late 1982 to several hundred Western, non-communist peace groups in Western Europe. The letter, entitled Bertrand Russell Foundation activists of fueling the cold war by claiming that both NATO and the Warsaw Pact bear equal responsibility for the arms race and international tension. Zhukov denounced the West Berlin Working Group for a Nuclear Free Europe, organizers of the May 1983 European disarmament conference in Berlin, for allegedly siding with NATO, attempting to split the peace movement, and distracting the peace-loving public from the main source of the deadly threat posed against the peoples of Europe — the plans for stationing a new generation of nuclear missiles in Europe, in 1983. In addition, he criticized Western peace groups for favoring ties with "unofficial" peace movements in Eastern Europe. Zhukov ignored the fact that Soviet authorities have crushed the small Soviet Committee to Establish Trust between the USSR and USA, banned its contacts with Western correspondents, and imprisoned several of its members. . . .

Kenneth Coates, director of the Bertrand Russell Foundation, replied that Zhukov's letter "does a disservice to your committee with its crude attempts to present us as mere agents provocateurs under the influence of Western powers." The Yugoslav daily *Delo*, March 3, 1983, criticized the Zhukov letter as "crude interference in the internal affairs of Western countries" and an indirect attack on the growing unofficial peace movement in East Germany and the Soviet Union.

"END is an umbrella organization comprising several West European independent and nonconmunist antinuclear groups. It is highly critical of the U.S.S.R.'s suppression of its own unofficial peace activists and a major advocate of the equal responsibility doctrine. The SCDP and the WPC boycotted END's 1983 convention in West Berlin in protest of its "anti-Soviet character."

Moscow Faces Harsh Opposition. The realities of dealing face to face with several hundred anticommunist peace activists at Perugia (a total of 1,500 peace movement representatives attended) quickly dispelled Moscow's hopes for constructive dialogue.

The convention opened with a demonstration by 70 Italian peace activists and East European emigres protesting the denial of exit visas to 59 "unofficial" Soviet and East European peace activists who wanted to attend the gathering. Fifty-nine seats were left empty for the absent activists. Flags and banners belonging to Poland's Solidarity and several East German peace groups were displayed. (SCDP delegates Grigoriy Lokshin and Yevgeniy Sylin subsequently filed a formal complaint with the convention's organizers against "primitive and brutal anticommunist behavior.")

I cannot agree . . . with the assertion that there is an independent peace movement in the Soviet Union. What this is all about is actually a handful of people—10, 15, no more—among them [are] a few criminal types, who actually have only one aim: to assert their private, personal interests, and who to this end are abusing the emotions for peace, the longing for peace. The problem of the so-called independent peace movement has been thought up, made up, and developed by the West and has nothing whatsoever to do with the reality in the Soviet Union. We absolutely do not have this problem.

Viktor Afanasyev, Pravda editor-in-chief and an ILPPF vice president, Vienna radio, November 10, 1983

Of course a Soviet citizen can believe that all Russian troops should leave Eastern Europe and we should dismantle our missiles. You can believe that and remain a loyal citizen—but to campaign for it, that is different. Imagine how the media in the West would react to that.

Grigoriy Lokshin, SCDP member, London Guardian, November 14, 1984

Two days into the convention, an SCDP press conference was interrupted by outbreaks of "shouting, bursts of laughter and protests," according to the Milan *Corriere Della Sera* (July 20). Lokshin's explanation of the origins and positions of the Soviet peace movement and the SCDP itself (a "totally independent and democratically elected" movement) was greeted with "boos," as was his claim that unofficial Soviet peace activists were "supported" by President Reagan. Sylin, in reply to persistent questions as to why the SCDP had never criticized Soviet policies and why it approved of Soviet deployments of nuclear missiles in the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, said there were no differences between the Soviet Government and the people. "Public opinion and official opinion are the same in our society," he said to laughter. "They are always the same. We have ways of establishing this link." (*New York Times*, July 20)

SCDP delegates also were forced to defend the U.S.S.R.'s invasion of Afghanistan amid shouts of "free Sakharov." Lokshin stated there was "no repression against activities for peace" in the U.S.S.R. and that the Sakharov case was "based on ignorance and lies." (London *Times*, July 25) Lokshin and Sylin threatened more than once to walk out of the conference if similarly hostile questioning was repeated. According to the Paris *Liberation* (July 21-22), 2 hours of "stormy debate" between the SCDP representatives and their noncommunist counterparts led one Soviet to whisper: "It is hard to face the real world."

East European and Soviet Reactions. East European reaction was predictably critical, with the Czechoslovaks most strident (*Rude Pravo* condemned Italian authorities after they denied visas to delegates of the state-sponsored Czechoslovak Peace Committee) and the Hungarians much less so (*Nepszabadsag* even registered pleasure with the "exciting battle of words").

Moscow reacted by saying nothing substantive for almost a month. It was not until August that *Kommunist* (No. 12, 1984) attacked the "irresponsible . . . clamorous Trotskyist and leftist-anarchist elements" that sought to "implant cold war confrontation" at Perugia. Their actions, according to *Kommunist*, "provoked indignation and condemnation" among activists interested in "serious dialogue" between Eastern and Western peace movements. The journal found it to be unacceptable that the state-sponsored peace committees of the East—which "naturally" supported the policies of the Warsaw Pact—should be forced to "act independently" and thus in opposition to their governments in order to prove their autonomy. And in a broadside against European Nuclear Disarmament itself *Kommunist* attacked the "perfidious essence" of the equal-responsibility thesis: its acceptance by large segments of Europe's antiwar movement was responsible for the continuing tensions between communist and noncommunist peace forces.

Kommunist, nevertheless, expressed hope for future cooperation and gave Moscow's prescription for communist/noncommunist reconciliation: "dialogue, persuasion and patient explanation . . . as well as a considerate attitude toward the position of the others even when . . . these positions are inconsistent or wrong." Western peace activists also were implored to look for the source of tension and focus their attacks on the defense policies of the West:

. . . the specific effectiveness of peace actions and their ability to produce results reach the highest level when the actual problems of the arms race, detente and disarmament are not treated in general terms and on the basis of "equal distance" but when, instead, the source and the cause of the nuclear threat are concretely pointed out and the main blow is aimed at them.

APPENDIX II

Generals for Peace and Disarmament

In June 1981, the East German newspaper, *Neues Deutschland*, publicized a book, *Generals for Peace*, published in Cologne and containing interviews between Gerhard Kade, vice president of the WPC-controlled International Institute for Peace (IIP), and eight retired NATO senior officers. The new group, now known as Generals for Peace and Disarmament, originated at "round table" discussions held during the WPC's World Parliament of Peoples for Peace congress in Sofia in September 1980.

Since March 1983, the group's headquarters have been at the premises of the London Centre for International Peacebuilding. Five members of the group are currently associated with the WPC: Marshal Francisco da Costa Gomes of Portugal (a vice president), General George Koumanakos of Greece (a vice president), General George Koumanakos of Greece (since June 1983 a member of the Presidential Committee), General Nino Pasti of Italy, Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti of France (both WPC members), and General Michael Tombopoulos of Greece.

The group has collectively or severally issued a number of statements and appeals. After its first meeting in Vienna in

February 1982 (arranged by the WPC-controlled IIP), a memorandum signed by 14 former officers was prepared. Launched in Bonn on June 4, 1982, and later submitted to the Second UN Special Session on Disarmament in New York, it called for an immediate moratorium on the deployment of nuclear weapons in the East and West as a first step toward disarmament. A second meeting, held in Vienna in January 1983, was attended by 14 former officers from nine NATO countries. The participants' main concern was the deployment of new NATO missiles; they welcomed the Soviet Union's latest "peace initiatives" and supported the Warsaw Pact's Prague Declaration of January 1983. Five members attended the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War in Prague in June 1983, although the organization as such was not represented. (Koumanakos and Pasti, with retired U.S.S.R. Colonel Proektor, headed the "military doctrine panel.")

At the group's third meeting in Vienna in May 1984, six of the members were present, together with eight military representatives from Warsaw Pact countries. According to Soviet sources, Vladislav Kornilov, a civilian Secretary of the Soviet Peace Committee, also was present. The Polish representative was Major-General Marian Naszkowski, also a WPC member. Colonel-General Alexander N. Ponomarev (U.S.S.R.), who jointly chaired the meeting with the group's chairman, General Major Michael von Meyenfeldt of the Netherlands, remarked that it was characteristic that views of the participants from both East and West either coincided or were very close to each other "on a number of points raised by the Warsaw Pact representatives." As Kornilov and Major-General Rair A. Simonyan, also a member of the Soviet Peace Committee, commented:

> the aims of the group [Generals for Peace and Disarmament]—an end to the arms race and a return to detente—are identical to those of the Soviet peace movement and the ideas of the anti-war movements of all honest-minded people in the world. (*New Times*, No. 24, June 1984)

In September 1984 the group published a new book, *The Arms Race to Armageddon: Generals Challenge US-NATO Strategy*. Most recently, Nino Pasti authored an article in *New Times* (No. 5, 1985) which accused NATO of attempting to upset the nuclear balance in Europe to gain military superiority while praising the U.S.S.R. for manufacturing and deploying "only enough" weaponry to "maintain the peace." Pasti also denounced unidentified "Italian political parties, even those which claim to be left-wing," for "blindly accepting" propaganda accusations that the U.S.S.R. has tipped the existing nuclear balance in its favor by deploying SS-20 missiles in Europe.

APPENDIX III

The 1983 World Peace Assembly

World peace assemblies are major events staged by the World Peace Council (WPC) roughly every 3 years. The 1983 world assembly took place in Prague, June 21–26. Since the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, these meetings have been held only in Moscow or various East European capitals. The first was held jointly in Paris and Prague (April 1949) because French authorities denied visas to the majority of delegates from Eastern Europe, where communist regimes had recently been imposed by the U.S.S.R. WPC triennial assemblies subsequently were held in Warsaw (November 1950), Vienna (December 1952), Helsinki (June 1955), Stockholm (July 1958), Moscow (July 1962), Helsinki (July 1965), East Berlin (June 1969), Budapest (May 1971), Moscow (October 1973), Warsaw (May 1977), and Sofia (September 1980).

These assemblies are designed to attract maximum non-communist participation by focusing on issues of concern to a broad range of social and political opinion. However, there are several features common to all the gatherings that underlie their pro-Soviet political bias:

- The majority of participants in the assemblies are Soviet and East European communist party members, representatives of foreign communist parties, and representatives of other Soviet-backed international fronts. Token noncommunist participation serves to lend an element of credibility.
- Discussion usually is confined to the inequities of Western socioeconomic systems and attacks on the military and foreign policies of the United States and other "imperialist, fascist" nations.
- Resolutions advocating policies favored by the U.S.S.R. and other communist nations are passed "by acclamation," not by vote. In most cases, delegates do not see the texts until they are published in the communist media.
- Attempts by noncommunist delegates to discuss Soviet actions (such as the invasion of Afghanistan) are dismissed as "interference in internal affairs" or "anti-Soviet propaganda."
- Dissent among delegates often is suppressed and never acknowledged in final resolutions or communiques.
- All assemblies praise the U.S.S.R. and other "progressive" societies and endorse Soviet foreign policy positions.

The World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War (Prague, 21–26 June, 1983) was attended by 3,625 delegates from 132 countries and 119 international organizations. Visitors included Yasir Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization (for the closing sessions only), Emil Zatopek (Czechoslovakia), Anatoly Karpov (U.S.S.R.), and Valentina Tereshkova (U.S.S.R.).

At a press conference in Prague on June 20, Tomas Travnicek, chairman of the Czechoslovak Preparatory Committee (and WPC Presidential Committee member), said that participants would be able to express their opinions openly and to hold informal meetings throughout the country. On the funding of the assembly, he said that a collection of over Kcs 62,000,000 (U.S. $10,000,000) had been raised in "voluntary contributions" from Czechoslovak citizens.

After the opening speech by Travnicek, Romesh Chandra said that:

> the Assembly was a reply to those who did not want to listen to the voice of reason and expected a split among the anti-war forces. The Assembly would seek unity, joint and parallel actions. . . . The danger of war was now greater than ever before. . . . MX missiles were being tested, new medium-range missiles were to be stationed in Europe this year, but the Prague Assembly said no missiles anywhere in the world, all nuclear weapons must be destroyed. There was no such thing as limited nuclear war; a third world war would be the last, as all mankind would be annihilated. (Czechoslovak news agency, CTK, June 21)

According to the West German news agency, *DPA*, June 24 (quoting church sources in Vienna), the Czechoslovak Primate, Cardinal Tomasek, spoke out against all suppression

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of individuals and groups, whether material or spiritual. He was reported as saying that those who threatened human freedoms, including freedom of religion, posed a threat to peace. *DPA* said his speech had not been published by the conference organizers.

On June 21, the assembly began work in 11 dialogue groups. Discussions focused on: (1) the dangers of nuclear war, the threat to life and how to prevent it; (2) European security and disarmament; (3) the arms race and how to stop and reverse it; (4) the exchange of experiences and ideas of peace movements in support of disarmament; (5) the role of the United Nations for peace and disarmament; (6) economic aspects of the arms race and of disarmament; (7) development, the arms race and disarmament, international economic cooperation; (8) social, psychological and ethical aspects of the arms race, war and disarmament; (9) the role of the non-aligned movement for peace and life; (10) the danger of war and the problems of the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and Latin America; and (11) education for peace and the prevention of war (*CTK*, June 21).

According to *CTK* (June 26), the final plenary session was largely devoted to reports from the dialogue and special interest groups. The first dialogue group denounced the concept of a limited nuclear war, called on the United States, the United Kingdom, and France to follow the Soviet Union's lead in announcing that they would never be the first to use nuclear weapons and condemned U.S. plans to deploy nuclear missiles in Europe. Similarly "unqualified" were the reports from the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th dialogue groups. The reports of the others were more qualified. The second was "almost unanimous" on the need to halt the arms race outside Europe; in the third, a "large number of participants" stressed the responsibility of the Reagan Administration for the present stage of the arms race; in the fourth, participants agreed on the need to counter efforts to split East and West, but there were "differences in motivation and approach to peace work"; and in the sixth "a number of participants" stressed that the military-industrial complex used its profits to influence political circles in favor of the arms race.

Various special interest groups also voiced demands. Trade unionists called for social rather than military spending; women's groups criticized the Western media for failing to report the peaceful life in socialist countries; artists and writers called for the establishment of an international organization to promote exhibitions on peace themes and cooperate with the peace movement; the education group called on supporters to lobby governments to provide funds for a world disarmament campaign; doctors condemned the amounts spent on arms and the cuts in social programs; the religious circles group agreed that unilateral moves to reduce the risk of war would culminate in multilateral agreements to halt the arms race; the journalists blamed the monopoly control of the media and news agencies for the attitude of the Western press to the peace movement; the parliamentarians expressed concern at the building of new military bases by the imperialist powers in the "Indian Ocean, the Malvinas and Turkey." The lawyers called for the more effective use of existing international laws banning the use of nuclear weapons and stressed the need for a new convention banning the production, stockpiling, and use of nuclear weapons.

A final "appeal" warned that all talks on limiting and reducing arms were virtually blocked and new types of weapons of mass destruction were being developed. A particularly acute danger "is posed by the plans to deploy new first-strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe"; it was "utterly essential" to stop these. "We are deeply convinced that whatever differences there may be between us over some problems, nothing should divide us in the face of our common goal to save peace and life and prevent a nuclear war," the "appeal" said. (*Morning Star*, British communist newspaper, June 27).

Chandra told the closing session that the peace movements of the world would never be divided again. After Prague, the dialogue would enter a new stage. Travnicek said that despite different political, ideological, philosophical, and religious views, a sincere and open dialogue had taken place (*CTK*, June 26).

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SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES: THE CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE

May 1985

The Prague-based Christian Peace Conference (CPC) is a Soviet-backed international front organization. Since its founding in 1958, it has sought to influence opinion within church-related groups on a host of controversial international foreign and defense issues. From the start the CPC has been headed by a prominent Soviet or East European theologian or religious leader, and its major gatherings always have been staged in a communist country. Following the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the CPC was purged of dissidents to ensure Soviet control.

Perhaps with the lessons of the World Peace Council's obvious Soviet ties in mind, the CPC has sought to maintain a low profile (unlike the WPC, for example, it did not publicly endorse the September 1983 Soviet shootdown of a Korean airliner), although its consistent pro-Soviet bias is evident from the resolutions passed at its meetings and assemblies and from its other published documents and communiques. The CPC shares the U.S.S.R.'s approach to human rights and national liberation movements, since at least 1978 it has worked to justify Christian support for violent struggle against what it deems unjust social orders. Like the U.S.S.R., the CPC rejects pacifism (on the grounds that pacifists do not distinguish between "just" and "unjust" wars), but it does not rule out cooperation with pacifists for tactical reasons.

During the 1970s, the CPC focused on promoting Soviet interests in the Third World. With the 1980s' debate over NATO's deployment in Europe of intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF), it has turned its attention to disarmament and security issues, invariably supporting Soviet initiatives in this sphere and, most recently, echoing Soviet criticism of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). It has never publicly criticized Soviet or East European foreign or domestic policies, including suppression of religion. (For more information on the U.S.S.R.'s attitude toward religion, see "Religion in the U.S.S.R.: Laws, Policy and Propaganda," May 1982, published in the *Foreign Affairs Note* series.)

The Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly

The Czechoslovak communist party daily *Rude Pravo* (January 26, 1985) reported that 600 representatives of "churches, Christian peace and ecumenical organizations" from more than 80 countries are expected at this gathering to convene in Prague, July 2–9, 1985. These assemblies have taken place in Prague every 4–7 years (1961, 1964, 1968, 1971, and 1978). *Rude Pravo* noted that the conclave will provide an opportunity for "frank discourse on all burning issues of the current international situation and for determining practical ways and means by which Christians and the churches can help avert a nuclear catastrophe."

The use of the term "frank discourse" 6 months before the July assembly indicates that its communist organizers expect significant disagreement over the theoretical and tactical issues that continue to frustrate Moscow's hopes for cooperation with noncommunist—including church-related—elements of the peace movement. The most notable of these is the extent to which the U.S.S.R.—and its Warsaw Pact allies—should cooperate with those noncommunist activists in the movement that criticize Soviet foreign and defense policies. Authoritative Soviet writings invariably attribute the activists' evenhanded approach to the influence of Western "special services" and have advocated "political re-education" to correct their views. For example, the August 1984 edition of *Kommunist* (the theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) presented the following instructions on how to disabuse noncommunist activists of the notion that the U.S.S.R. shared any blame for international tensions: "dialogue, persuasion and patient explanation . . . as well as a considerate attitude toward the position of others even when . . . these positions are inconsistent or wrong."

The Christian Peace Conference is no mere pacifist organization; it is contributing by its specific activity toward maintaining peace and toward efforts for disarmament. That is why it fully supports L. Brezhnev's latest proposals, which are a significant step toward halting feverish armament and preventing the emergence of a world nuclear conflict.

CPC President Karoly Toth
Rude Pravo, March 26, 1982

What Will Happen at the Assembly? The Kremlin sees the sixth CPC assembly as an important element in its overall campaign to influence international religious opinion against

Western foreign and defense policies. Indeed, Soviet and CPC activity and commentary since the last assembly in 1978—and particularly during 1984 and the first months of 1985—suggest that the July gathering's primary purpose is to orient religious and church-related sectors of the antinuclear movement in an anti-U.S. direction while avoiding any criticism of Soviet foreign and defense policies.

If past assemblies are any indication, the upcoming conclave will "elect" and "re-elect" CPC leading officers and governing bodies and issue several resolutions and appeals addressed to the world's churches. These documents—intended to shape CPC activity in the coming years—will again conform in every respect to stated Soviet foreign policy positions.

Furthermore, the meetings' communist organizers will attempt to confine discussion at the gathering to the inequities of Western society and attacks on the United States and the NATO alliance. Dissenting opinion will be actively discouraged, where possible, and will not appear in conference documents or communiques, the texts of which most delegates normally do not see until they are published in communist media. (See page 6 for reaction to this tactic by delegates to the 1981 CPC peace conference in Grenada.) For example, according to *Le Monde* (October 7, 1970), in early 1970 the CPC leadership under Soviet Metropolitan Nikodim discharged two Western CPC vice presidents—George Casalis of France and Heinz Kloppenburg of West Germany—who refused to endorse numerous pro-Soviet resolutions issued at a previous CPC gathering. Nikodim subsequently purged the CPC International Secretariat, Working Committee, and vice presidency of all dissent; the result was the dissolution of numerous Western CPC affiliates.

Finally, any attempts to discuss controversial Soviet actions—such as U.S.S.R. domestic repression of religion, suppression of human rights activists, or the harassment and incarceration of "unofficial" Soviet peace activists—will be suppressed by the meetings' organizers. Moscow customarily dismisses such criticism as "anti-Soviet propaganda."

Preparation for the Assembly

Over the past 18 months, Moscow and the CPC have intensified efforts to court the peace movement, enhance the influence of the U.S.S.R. within international religious and church circles, and align a significant segment of religious opinion with Soviet foreign policy interests.

The importance the CPC attaches to this activity—and particularly to "unifying" the movement on an anti-Western platform—was spelled out by CPC President Toth in the December 1981 edition of the Prague-based *World Marxist Review*:

> For 23 years our Christian Peace Conference has been active in opposing the nuclear war threat and the arms race. . . . Acting on our religious convictions and in the name of Christian humanism we have joined the antiwar movement. Christianity teaches that life is a gift to the human being from above. To defend it, to uphold the right of people to life we are prepared to cooperate with all forces, regardless of their ideology and world view. I should like to accentuate the fact that the standpoints of Christians and Communists coincide on this question.

Commentary From Moscow. Authoritative Soviet journals also have promoted the role of religious elements in the antiwar movement. The September 1984 edition of *Kommunist* appealed to "all peace-loving forces, including Christians and people professing other beliefs . . . to establish broad contacts and engage in a dialogue in the interests of peace and prevention of war." According to *Kommunist*, such cooperation helps to surmount manifestations of "inconsistency and hesitation which develop in religious circles" and to "counter the pressure exerted by imperialist forces on believers and their organizations."

As examples of "cooperation" the journal cited meetings between "Marxists and Christians" under the auspices of the

International Institute for Peace, the World Peace Council, and the International Committee for European Security and Cooperation, without mentioning that all three organizations are supported and funded by the Soviet Union.

Kommunist did, however, acknowledge friction in communist relations with religious forces and, in so doing, set an uncompromising tone that may surface at the July CPC assembly:

> Naturally, the claim cannot be made that cooperation between communists on the one hand, and believers and leading representatives of religious circles on the other, is smooth and unobstructed and difficulties are not encountered along the way. The Marxists-Leninists realize that political compromises between communists and religious forces are necessary because they help to achieve unity of action and cooperation among toiling masses. At the same time, however, they reject compromises of the conceptual nature. In Lenin's words, one must keep one's own head on one's shoulders and be able to find one's own way in each individual case.

Further insight into the U.S.S.R.'s position on communist cooperation with religious forces—and desire that the latter refrain from criticism of Soviet foreign and defense policies—was provided in the November 1984 edition of *Voprosy Filosofii* (published by the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy). It declared that while there

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We have always advocated and continue to advocate close cooperation with all peace-loving forces in the world, including religious circles who, in our opinion, can play a considerable role in delivering mankind from the nuclear threat.

CPSU General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko
Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya, January 6, 1985

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were "quite a few Christian churches and groups which, citing the will of God, directly or indirectly support aggressive militarist programs," their "positive ideals and values" could be realized "only as a result of an active socio-political struggle and the consistent exposure of the imperialist messengers of nuclear war."

Events Sponsored by the U.S.S.R. and CPC. Meanwhile, Moscow and the CPC have tried to cultivate elements of the European antinuclear movement and to persuade them to focus their efforts away from criticism of communist suppression of religious activists and against INF deployment and other Western policies.

- Following a 4-day CPC international Secretariat meeting in Prague, *Rude Pravo* (January 20, 1984) underscored the "need to develop the activity of the peace movement" in CPC-associated churches and "support efforts aimed at coordinating" their participation in the "global struggle of progressive forces for security, disarmament and maintaining peace."
- A 3-day Moscow "roundtable conference"—at which Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Jewish, and Muslim representatives joined in discussions with a "group of experts involved with space studies"—was held 4 April, according to *Izvestiya* (April 6, 1984). The participants made an "in-depth analysis of the disastrous consequences that the use of space for military purposes could entail"; speeches delivered to the conference were, according to *Izvestiya*, "full of alarm and indignation at the dangerous plans of the U.S. Administration, which has set its sights on militarizing space."
- During an April 8–13 CPC working committee session in Dresden, CPC President Karoly Toth told the East German *ADN* news service (April 10) that the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe had created a situation that made cooperation among people of "different philosophical outlooks" imperative. Toth hinted that this issue is expected to be contentious at the CPC assembly when he praised the German Democratic Republic for pursuing a "flexible peace policy" and "not shrinking from an exchange of ideas and views ... even with those who are deliberately hostile to socialism." Final documents from the working committee meeting urged all states to adopt a no-first-use of nuclear weapons pledge; advocated a peace treaty between NATO and the Warsaw Pact; an end to the arms race; the creation of nuclear-free zones; and "all-around and complete disarmament"; and called on all Christians and churches to "act against the militarization of space by the United States." Finally, the working committee pledged that it would do "all it could" to prevent the further deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Europe.
- An international religious "seminar" devoted to "peace and human rights" and attended by representatives of European and North American churches was staged June 25–29, 1984, in Moscow by the CPC's Commission on International Questions. (The commission is responsible for the preparation of position papers for the CPC.) Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia (chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee's recently formed Public Commission for Relations with Religious Peace Circles) told the gathering that only "common efforts" would avert "nuclear catastrophe" (TASS, June 25). But a subsequent TASS report (June 28) reported a "frank exchange of opinions ... at the seminar," an indication of considerable disagreement at the session over the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the meeting's anti-American rhetoric, and Moscow's attempts to blame only the West for the nuclear arms buildup.
- A CPC international Secretariat meeting in Sofia (September 3–7) established the July assembly's agenda. CPC Secretary General Lubomir Mirejovsky stressed the "necessity of giving full support to propositions leading to a nuclear freeze," negotiations on disarmament, prohibitions on chemical weapons, and preventing the "militarization of outer space"; he also cautioned that "concepts like freedom, liberty, democracy, human rights and religion can be utterly misused to justify deterrence ideologies." The International Secretariat called for the creation of nuclear-free zones in the Balkans and Scandinavia and an "immediate stop" to the deployment of NATO medium-range missiles in Europe.
- A subsequent CPC Presidential Board meeting (November 12–17) in Italy prepared final documents for the assembly, among them an appeal for disarmament and a resolution on Nicaragua. (It is common practice among Soviet-backed fronts to draft such "final documents" long before the event which is to originate them takes place.)

Moscow Creates New Fronts. To better execute their influence activities, the Soviets recently created two new front organizations, each ostensibly independent of the CPC, whose purpose is to manipulate church opinion in the West. The "Working Presidium of the World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life From Nuclear Catastrophe" was set up in Moscow in November 1982 to continue the work of the May 1982 Moscow religious con-

ference. The "Public Commission for Relations With Religious Peace Circles" was established in Moscow by the WPC-affiliated Soviet Peace Committee in late 1983, according to *Kommunist* (September 1984). Both groups are headed by Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia (not to be confused with the CPC leader Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev), who also is the chairman of the Department of External Church Relations of the Russian Orthodox Church's Moscow Patriarchate.

Recent Efforts. Since January 1985, Moscow and the CPC have continued their pre-assembly efforts to influence Western religious and church-related groups. On January 30, Metropolitan Antoniy of the Russian Orthodox Church attacked U.S. "imperialist circles" and urged "people in all countries to unite" in the struggle against nuclear war. A Moscow round-table conference in early February convened scientists and religious representatives from 27 countries in discussions of Western foreign and defense policies and means of stimulating "ever more intensive participation" of religious forces in the antiwar movement. And a March 9 CPC message, issued prior to the opening of the U.S.-Soviet disarmament talks in Geneva, called on all "peace-loving people throughout the world, regardless of their political or religious convictions," to intensify activity in the peace movement.

Soviet Lines of Control

Twenty-seven years of support for controversial Soviet policies reflect the well-established financial and organizational ties between Moscow and the CPC.

Financially, the CPC's most generous component is the Russian Orthodox Church, which customarily provides funds to Moscow-backed international fronts. For example, the Moscow Patriarchate "donated" 3 million rubles (currently more than U.S. $2 million) to the World Peace Council's 1973 world peace congress in Moscow (an event comparable in importance to the July CPC assembly), according to *Peace Courier* (November 1973).

The Soviet Peace Fund—a so-called public organization founded in 1961 which finances a wide range of international fronts—also finances part of the CPC's operations. Former

It is very difficult, if not simply impossible for man to live without ideals and without faith in their triumph. If we are not quick enough in convincing him of the rightness of our ideas and do not cultivate a Marxist-Leninist world outlook in him, then he can easily find himself in the power of a value orientation alien to us and fall, for example, under the influence of religion and unhealthy world outlook trends.

CPSU Politburo member Eduard Shevardnadze
Kommunist, December 1984

Soviet Peace Fund chairman Boris Polevoi acknowledged in *20th Century and Peace* (April 1980) that his clients include "the leaders of the international democratic organizations working for peace" and that the fund renders "financial aid to organizations, movements and personalities fighting for stronger peace, national independence and freedom." Current fund chairman Anatoly Karpov told the *Festival Herald* (No. 1, 1984, devoted to Soviet coverage of this summer's World Youth Festival in Moscow) that a "considerable part" of the fund's finances go to the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and helped pay for the WPC's World Assembly for

Peace and Life, June 1983, in Prague. According to Karpov, the fund will "do everything to see" that the Moscow youth festival "will be a success."

The current CPC leadership—President Karoly Toth (Hungary), Secretary General Lubomir Mirejovsky (Czechoslovakia), and Continuation Committee Chairman (Metropolitan) Filaret of Kiev (U.S.S.R.)—keeps the organization steered in a pro-Soviet direction. In addition, two well-placed Soviet officials—Bishop Sergey Fomin and Dr. Aleksey Buyevskiy—also have responsibility for insuring that the CPC conforms to Soviet initiatives. Fomin, a CPC deputy secretary general, is vice chairman of the Moscow Patriarchate's External Church Relations Department, the "foreign ministry" of the Russian Orthodox Church. The department's responsibilities include direction of all church participation in international bodies including the CPC and the World Council of Churches (WCC). Fomin is considered the decisive CPC voice on policy and administrative matters; he attends all meetings of CPC organs and maintains direct ties to Prague headquarters via Archpriest Georgiy Goncharov, the Russian Orthodox Church representative there (*CPC Information*, June 11, 1984). Buyevskiy, a layman, is secretary of the Patriarchate's External Church Relations Department and a CPC Working Committee member.

CPC Relations With Other International Organizations

The CPC promotes the Soviet line in UN deliberations whenever possible and fully uses its consultative status to address numerous General Assembly special committees. The CPC also cooperates with the World Council of Churches. According to Hungary's *Nepszabadsag* (August 13, 1983), Toth is a member of the WCC's Executive Committee. Moreover, the top CPC leadership simultaneously hold positions in the World Peace Council; their dual membership ensures close WPC–CPC cooperation on issues deemed important by Moscow. The CPC customarily issues declarations of support for the anti-Western campaigns undertaken by other Moscow-backed fronts, and frequently coordinates agitation/propaganda activities with them. For example, the CPC will take part in this summer's World Youth Festival in Moscow, sponsored by the communist-backed World Federation of Democratic Youth. Archpriest Goncharov represented the CPC at the November 2–4, 1984 meeting of the festival's international preparatory committee in Moscow (Moscow Patriarchate *Information Bulletin*, November 29, 1984).

CPC Origins

At its founding congress (June 1–3, 1958, Prague), the CPC defined its objective as a "peace fight." As the organization's first secretary general, Czechoslovak theologian Bohuslav Pospisil, described it:

> At a time when public opinion everywhere is alarmed by the growth of nuclear arms we are beginning to realize that at this critical moment . . . the churches must not stand aside.

The first clear-cut indication that the CPC defined "peace" in Soviet terms was the congress' failure to criticize the Soviet invasion of Hungary 2 years earlier. Instead, the 1956 Hungarian popular "counterrevolution" was attacked and reproached for its "encumbrance of Christian activities."[1]

The CPC at its second meeting (April 16–19, 1959, Prague) attributed the concept of cold war exclusively to the noncommunist West. Secretary General Pospisil carefully pointed out that the "peace fight" had political ramifications. "It is not irony, but the logic of history that in the peace movement Christians openly and sincerely march side by side with the progressive elements of society, the Communists."[2]

The CPC's third meeting (September 6–11, 1960, Prague) condemned anticommunism as the ideology of a crusade incompatible with the cross.[3] By this time, participation in the organization had grown: the 1958 conference hosted 40 representatives; in 1959 there were 96 delegates in attendance; and in 1960 198 delegates participated. Also in 1960, for the first time, Eastern-bloc representatives were a minority (96 of the 198 delegates).

A More Defined Course

The CPC held its first All-Christian Peace Assembly in Prague, April 13–16, 1961. In the opening address to the 700 participants, CPC President Joseph Hromadka noted:

> We have to recognize that the old international order, which up to the Second World War supported the so-called Christian peoples of the West, has fallen apart. We are at the beginning of a new order, the construction of which may well take up to several decades more.

One of the main CPC concerns at the 1961 conference was to organize the "peace fight" along more coordinated lines. A Continuation Committee of 110 members and a Working Committee of 16 were formed to conduct the work of the CPC between gatherings.

The second All-Christian Peace Assembly (June 28–July 3, 1964, Prague) drew 1,200 delegates from 50 countries. On this occasion the representative of the Russian Orthodox Church, Leningrad professor of theology Vitchy Borowoj, proposed that the CPC adopt an ostensibly neutral political outlook: "Our movement is essentially and potentially neither Eastern nor Socialist, but generally Christian."[4]

What Borowoj meant by a politically neutral Christian commitment was spelled out in the course of the third All-Christian Peace Assembly (March 31–April 3, 1968, Prague), where more than 1,000 people participated. Resolutions issued in the name of the assembly called on the world's churches to: put an end to "anticommunist hysteria," which was the cause of the global arms race; take part in the "construction of that new society in which social justice, peace, and the possibility of a complete evolution of the personality are guaranteed"; and demand that the West European nations and the United States "pay for the stimulation of the economy and the industrialization of the Third World, without any strings being attached to this aid."[5] This last message heralded greater CPC attention to the Third World in the 1970s.

Why do we not declare in our program that we are atheists? Why do we not refuse Christians and those who believe in God admission to our party? . . . [Because] unity in this truly revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class for the creation of a paradise on earth is more important to us than unity of opinion among the proletarians about a paradise in heaven. That is why we do not and must not proclaim our atheism in our program; that is why we do not and must not forbid proletarians who still cherish certain relics of the old superstitions to approach our party.

V.I. Lenin, "Socialism and Religion," 1905, in *Selected Works*, Vol. 11, pp. 660–661

Every religious idea, every idea of a god, even every flirtation with the idea of god is unutterable vileness . . . of the most dangerous kind, "contagion" of the most abominable kind. Millions of sins, filthy deeds, acts of violence, and physical contagions . . . are far less dangerous than the subtle, spiritual ideas of a god decked out in the smartest "ideological" costumes.

V. I. Lenin, "Letters from Lenin to A.M. Gorky," 1913, *Selected Works*, Vol. 11, pp. 675–676

The Invasion of Czechoslovakia

The CPC had difficulty retaining its following after the August 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Several CPC officials, along with officials in a number of other Soviet-backed front organizations, had to be replaced by Moscow in order to restore discipline. CPC President Hromadka and Secretary General Jaroslav Ondra (Pospisil's successor), both Czechoslovaks, were forced out of office after Hromadka protested the invasion in an open letter to the Soviet Ambassador in Prague. Under pressure from Moscow, Czechoslovak authorities mounted an attack on Ondra; Hromadka was considered less vulnerable to pressure because his position within the CPC was too secure. Ondra was informed that if he failed

to resign, he would be denied visas for international CPC travel. Ondra's resignation was followed by that of Hromadka, who asserted:

> I realize very clearly that the background of the drive against Dr. Ondra was purely political, that it had nothing to do with the real activity of the general secretary. If any political criticism should be heaped upon him, its real target was my pronouncements published during the tragic days of the summer of 1968. (From a letter to the *Church Times*, November 28, 1969)

The "resignations" of Ondra and Hromadka increased dissension within the CPC and brought written protests from some Western CPC regional committees as well as numerous resignations from West European CPC officials. The November 15, 1969 issue of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* noted that the CPC was "breaking up" and that, until the Soviet-led invasion, many in the organization had taken Soviet speeches about peace as the "genuine article" and had placed themselves at the Soviets' disposal as a church platform for such propaganda. By February 1970, Soviet control had been restored, albeit at the expense of once-heavy European participation.

The 1970s: Focus on the Third World

Attendance at the fourth All-Christian Peace Assembly (September 30-October 3, 1971, Prague) dropped to a relative low of 240 delegates and 100 observers from 49 countries. But it included representatives and observers of the World Peace Council, World Council of Churches, World Lutheran Federation, All-African Conference of Churches, and the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. WPC Presidential Committee member Richard Andriamanjato (Madagascar) was elected to the CPC Working Group. (Presently he is a vice president of both the WPC and CPC and, as such, is the ranking CPC member in the WPC complex.)

The assembly organizers made special efforts to associate the fight for peace more strongly with the "fight for social progress." The new focus on the Third World and national liberation was underscored when newly elected Secretary General Janusz Makowski (Poland) asserted:

> More militants from [the developing world] should be recruited for the CPC. . . . [O]ur militants went to Africa, America, Latin America and India in 1971. . . . Representatives of the Third World have never been so numerous as today, when they constitute nearly forty percent of this Assembly.

The assembly passed resolutions on Vietnam, the Middle East, East Pakistan, and South Africa, all supportive of Soviet foreign policy positions. Statements and resolutions defined the struggle against anticommunism as a task to be undertaken by Christianity and the churches in the interests of peace. The blatant pro-Soviet direction of the gathering prompted the Paris daily *Le Figaro* to comment on October 1: "Following the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia deep repercussions have occurred within the CPC so it has become an instrument of Soviet policy."

Other CPC gatherings during the 1970s underscored the organization's close alignment with Soviet foreign policy interests, particularly with respect to the advancement of what it called "social progress" in the developing world.

1974. The CPC Study Commission for Economy and Politics, meeting in Prague in early March, discussed "threats to world peace" and agreed in the course of its deliberations that an essential part of Christian activity consisted of "exposing the warlike political-economic mechanism of imperialism."

On March 12-15, a working commission comprising 50 representatives of churches and other Christian organizations gathered in Prague to review cooperation of all peace forces. The CPC subcommission on the Middle East met in Cairo on April 23-27; participants' resolutions endorsed the Arab "struggle against Zionism" and the liberation struggle of the Palestinians; the session adopted a statement of principles placing the CPC firmly behind the anti-Zionist struggle.

1975. The founding meeting of the CPC's Asian subdivision—the Asian Christian Peace Conference—in January adopted resolutions demanding the "full reunification of Korea in accordance with the principles of the five-point proposals of the North Korean Government." It also established a commission to investigate the question of political prisoners in Asian countries. Later that month, 80 church representatives from Europe, North America, Africa, and Asia attended a CPC seminar in West Berlin on the "Meaning of the World Christian in the Work for Peace."

In February, the CPC's International Secretariat met in Moscow, and on April 10 its Working Committee convened in Sofia with 50 leading church representatives attending. The theme of the April session was: "The Co-Existence of Christians, Jews, and Muslims and the Problems of Peace in the Middle East." Discussions touched on contributions Christians could make in resolving the Middle East conflict, general problems facing the international political system, and possibilities for further cooperation of anti-imperialist forces. CPC President Metropolitan Nikodim stressed during the deliberations the necessity of putting an end to Zionism's "misuse" of religious ideas for justifying Israel's "aggressive" policies.

1976. The CPC in January issued a call for support of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. The CPC's Anti-Racism Study Commission met in the Federal Republic of Germany in February to draft a statement on the situation in Namibia and a circular letter to churches on Angola. Seventy participants from 24 countries, including Secretary General Mirejovsky, attended a CPC seminar in Sofia in mid-June to discuss the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and its significance for the Third World. It issued a communique stressing the significance of the CSCE Final Act but warning that the Helsinki accords did not signify any diminution of the efforts of socialism to combat capitalism in order to secure a better future for mankind.

1977. Mirejovsky, three CPC vice presidents, and the international secretaries from 15 countries attended the CPC's International Secretariat meeting in Prague on January 11. The final communique expressed support for Warsaw Pact disarmament proposals and welcomed the convening of a special UN session on disarmament the following year. It also pledged support for UN proposals for an antiapartheid conference in Africa and for economic sanctions against Chile. According to local media reports, delegates expressed their determination to oppose attempts by reactionary forces to use the human rights issue as a "pretext for reviving the cold war spirit and impeding detente." In May the CPC joined the Berlin Conference of European Catholics (a complementary Soviet-line front, since the CPC does not include European Catholics) in Prague for a discussion on the need to counter attempts to revive the cold war. Other CPC gatherings throughout the spring focused on the Christian's contribution to peace, justice, and freedom in Africa and the "oppression of progressive forces" in Latin America. An African CPC branch was founded in December.

1978. The fifth All-Christian Peace Assembly (June 21-29, Prague) was attended by more than 680 delegates, guests, and observers from nearly 100 countries who participated in workshops on disarmament, racism, economic problems, theological questions, cooperation with the United Nations, and the contribution of Christians to "world peace." The participants approved an appeal to governments concerning "dangers to peace" in Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East and the proposed production of the neutron bomb, and resolutions on disarmament and detente, colonialism and neocolonialism, China's "militaristic moves," and the need to solve the Vietnam-Cambodia dispute peacefully. The assembly also endorsed the Soviet call for a world disarmament conference. The imprisonment of priests in Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, and the U.S.S.R. was not mentioned publicly in the course of the gathering, however, nor were the church protests then taking place in the G.D.R. against expansion of premilitary education in the schools.

1979. A 13-member CPC delegation attended a World Peace Council conference on Vietnam in Helsinki on March 16. A week later the CPC leadership conferred with WPC President Romesh Chandra in Budapest. In April the CPC Working Committee met in Helsinki and issued statements on detente, disarmament, southern Africa, Vietnam, and Palestine, which were all consistent with the Soviet line. In mid-May the CPC staged a disarmament conference at Selm in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The CPC and the National Liberation Movement

Parallelism with Moscow's line is especially obvious in the CPC's promotion of "social progress" and Third World interests, particularly in the context of the "national liberation struggle." According to official CPC documents, social injustice is to be remedied by armed struggle; such "war for a just cause" is, in turn, a prerequisite for a "just peace." Armed struggle also is legitimate against a "pacification" policy that prejudices socialism:

> The striving for liberation without the search for a just peace can easily degenerate into aggression and expansionism. . . . For this reason the concept of the just peace is fundamental to all proceedings. . . . Confronted by injustice all over the world we cannot be neutral, and we cannot submit to the role of mere observer. By the message of the Bible we are bound to take concrete decisions and to participate actively in any fight against injustice. . . . That form of exploitation which characterizes the capitalist system was recognized by the ecumenical movement as one of the causes of social injustice in the modern world.
>
> Any consideration of the necessity to abolish unjust structures of power will necessarily lead to the question of how and when to apply power and violence. The CPC gave a lot of thought to this problem in connection with the question of revolution. We realized that there can be social situations in which only revolutionary change will be able to create a legitimate new society. In such a situation we Christians have no choice but to suggest this form of establishing people's rights.*

At the same time, opposition to revolution is unjustified:

> There is another type of change which does not deserve the name of "revolution." That is the so-called counter-revolution. Whereas revolution wants to bring about the humanization of society, counter-revolution strives to restore the old, unjust order of society.

The justification of revolutionary violence had been formulated during the 1971 assembly:

> In a situation in which institutionalized power excludes every other possibility violence is a justified means to reach this objective (namely, radical social change). . . . The fact that theologically war cannot be justified . . . can never mean that the possibility of a fight against unjust social structures and of revolution as ultima ratio is to be excluded.*

Liberation Theology and Human Rights

According to documents from the 1971 assembly, Christians should lend their support to peace forces that promote the armed national liberation movements of the Third World against imperialism. The same conference characterized Western imperialism as the "greatest threat to the peaceful existence of mankind." It rejected pacifism *per se* for not distinguishing between just and unjust peace but did not exclude cooperation with the pacifists.*

The CPC's own "theology of liberation" seeks to provide a philosophical underpinning for the "peace fight" and national liberation warfare.[8] This "theology" recommends supporting national liberation movements and demands that Western churches rid themselves of the bourgeoisie. "The churches of these countries must free themselves of the bourgeoise social ties. The churches existing in Western society need liberation at least as urgently as the proletarian masses."*

The CPC, as a result, declares itself against the "individualistic concept" of human rights and demands that "distinctions be made according to the respective situation" (thereby apparently excluding from its purview human rights violations in the U.S.S.R. and other communist regimes). It

*U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1985—461-789:20009

also maintains that Christians have the duty to concede that "any realization of human rights must lead towards socialism."

The CPC has stated specifically:

> Human rights have to be seen not only as individual rights to liberty, but also and rather as the rights and duties of groups and communities. . . . The liberal interpretation of human rights is not in accordance with the message of the Bible. We regard an absolute concept of human rights, which does not take the historical development into account, as unacceptable.[1]

The 1980s: Peace and Disarmament

With NATO's December 1979 decision to deploy INF missiles in Western Europe, Soviet-backed fronts, including the CPC, mobilized as part of an overall Soviet diplomatic and propaganda campaign to overturn the decision. The CPC continues to promote Third World causes, but the focus of its activity since 1980 has been the anti-INF campaign.

1980–81. The CPC in mid-May 1980 sponsored an International Seminar on Detente; in October the CPC Continuation Committee met in the G.D.R. and called for a halt to the production and deployment of weapons of mass destruction. In November 1981, a CPC conference in East Berlin rejected the U.S. "zero option," endorsing instead the U.S.S.R.'s proposal for a moratorium on INF deployment in Europe.

1982–83. In March 1982 a CPC Working Committee session, attended by 60 church representatives from 26 countries, was held in Prague; a letter to Brezhnev stemming from the session endorsed his proposal for a moratorium on nuclear missile deployments, called for support of the Palestine Liberation Organization and an international conference on the Middle East, and attacked U.S. policy in Central America. In May 1982 a massive "World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life From Nuclear Catastrophe" was held in Moscow, cosponsored by the CPC and attended by more than 2,000 delegates. Its final report criticized Western foreign and defense policies and endorsed a series of resolutions paralleling Soviet foreign policy positions.

In February 1983 a CPC International Secretariat meeting endorsed the results of a January 5 Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee session in Prague; delegates also commemorated the 35th anniversary of communist rule in Czechoslovakia. In May a CPC sponsored gathering, "What Can the Churches Do in the Interests of Disarmament?," was staged in Budapest; more than 150 Western Hemisphere, Asian, and African church representatives attended. On October 14, Czechoslovak leader Husak received Toth on the occasion of the 25th CPC anniversary. Meetings commemorating the anniversary, attended by CPC activists from all over the world, were staged in Moscow through late October. In an October 20 meeting with U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet officials, Toth applauded "peace initiatives" by then-Soviet leader Andropov.

1984. A 6-day CPC meeting in Odessa in January discussed U.S. "nuclear strategy" in the Pacific and its influence on Japan. A 4-day International Secretariat session, staged later that month in Prague, stressed the role of the churches in the anti-INF movement and the global struggle of "progressive forces" for security, peace, and disarmament. An April gathering of the Working Committee staged in Dresden examined the "exacerbated threat of war" in advance of the sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly in July 1985. At Dresden, Toth told participants from 27 countries that the peace movement's influence has grown as a result of INF deployment in Europe. The session's final document called on all nuclear powers to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons; urged the NATO and Warsaw Pact alliances to sign a non-use of force treaty; called on all Christians and churches to "act against the militarization of space" by the United States; and pledged the CPC to do "all it could" to prevent further INF deployments.

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[1] "The History of the Christian Peace Conference." Part I, *Reformatusok Lapja*, February 14, 1971, Budapest; as quoted by Laszlo Revesz in "The Christian Peace Conference." *Conflict Studies*, No. 81, Jan. 1978.
[2] *Ibid.*, Part III, February 28, 1971.
[3] *Ibid.*, Part IV, August 8, 1971.
[4] *Ibid.*, Part VI, August 29, 1971.
[5] *Ibid.*, Part VIII, October 8, 1971.
[6] "Peace and Justice: The Ecumenical Duty of Christians and Churches. Contribution of the CPC to the Fifth World Congress of the World Council of Churches." *Theologiai Szemle (TSz)*, No. 5–6, 1975, pp. 175–180, Budapest.
[7] Karoly Toth, "The Problems of the Third World in the CPC in Cuba and Madagascar." *TSz*, No. 11–12, 1974, pp. 342–346.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 343.
[9] "Peace and Christian Responsibility: A New Impulse From Prague." *For the West of Europe*, Prague, December 1971.
[10] Karoly Toth, "On the Theology of Liberation and the Fight Against Racial Discrimination." *TSz*, No. 1–2, 1975, pp. 42–52.
[11] *TSz*, No. 7–8, 1975, pp. 234–240.
[12] "The Attitude of the CPC to the Question of Human Rights." *TSz*, No. 11–12, 1974.

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SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES: THE 12th WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL IN MOSCOW

June 1985

The Budapest-based World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) is a Soviet international front organization formed in 1945 as a communist-dominated coalition. Since communist officials took effective control of its operations in 1950, the WFDY has sought to influence youth and student groups on a host of international defense issues along lines favorable to Soviet interests. Moscow considers noncommunist youth and student movements—together with academic, religious, humanitarian, and similar associations—important elements in its "peace and anti-imperialist struggle." Since the last World Youth Festival in Havana in 1978, the Soviets have made intensive efforts to "unite" communist affiliates of the WFDY with independent youth and student organizations in order to draw the latter into the "struggle for peace." The 12th World Youth Festival to be held in Moscow, July 27–August 3—expected to attract about 20,000 foreign participants—will be the culmination of these efforts. The gathering will be sponsored jointly by the WFDY and the International Union of Students (IUS), another Soviet front.

The current WFDY leadership keeps the organization steered in a pro-Soviet direction. It includes a Lebanese president and Hungarian secretary general (both of whom represent the WFDY on the World Peace Council's Presidential Committee), vice presidents from the U.S.S.R., Vietnam, North Korea, and Cuba, and secretaries from East Germany, Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. The Soviet Peace Fund—a so-called public organization founded in 1961 to finance a wide range of international fronts—finances part of the WFDY's operations. Current fund chairman Anatoly Karpov told the *Festival Herald* (January 1984) that the fund will "do everything to see" that the Moscow youth festival "will be a success."

The WFDY's consistent pro-Soviet bias is evident from the resolutions passed at its meetings and assemblies and from its other published documents and communiques. It has never criticized Soviet domestic or foreign policies; indeed, it has supported the most controversial Soviet actions, including the December 1979 invasion of Afghanistan and the September 1983 downing of a Korean airliner (see p. 3). Along with other Soviet fronts, such as the World Peace Council (WPC) and the Christian Peace Conference, the WFDY for decades has been active in the promotion of Soviet policies, both in the Third World and through affiliated national organizations in Western countries.

Like the other fronts, it focused primarily on promoting Soviet interests in the developing world during the 1970s. With the 1980s debate about NATO deployment in Europe of intermediate-range nuclear forces, the WFDY turned its attention to disarmament and security issues, supporting Soviet initiatives in this sphere and most recently echoing Soviet criticism of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

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U.S.S.R. Leadership Concerns About Soviet Youth

One consequence of increased contacts between East and West during recent years—contacts fostered, in part, by such communist-dominated conclaves as the world youth festivals—has been the spread of individualism and consumerism among Soviet youth.

Disaffection among Soviet youth is not a new problem for the leadership. In April 1981 in the wake of the Polish crisis, official concern about the influence of alien ideas was apparent at a 6-day high-level ideology conference in Moscow where party leaders—including Politburo member Mikhail Gorbachev—linked foreign influences to the breakdown of authority in Poland and stressed the need to correct similar problems

at home. After the conference, Soviet media launched a broad campaign to counter Western influence on youth.[1]

With the approach of the festival, the Soviet leadership's concern over the direction in which the nation's youth might be heading has been given prominent play in the U.S.S.R. during the last year. In a May 28, 1984 speech at a conference of armed forces secretaries of the All-Union Leninist-Communist League of Youth (Komsomol), then-Soviet General Secretary Chernenko voiced the Kremlin's preoccupation over the future directions of Soviet youth. He charged that the Komsomol was failing to meet the needs of Soviet youth and was trying to solve new problems by "obsolete and unoriginal" methods and with formal campaigns and slogans rather than by creative initiatives. he further criticized the Komsomol for ineffectiveness in the "upbringing" of Soviet youth and called for heightened party discipline in the Komsomol ranks.

A June 28 Politburo decree then ordered intensified party work with the Komsomol and deplored such vices among youth as "labor and civic passivity, individualism, lack of discipline, . . . wastefulness, drunkenness, and laziness, . . . apoliticism, immorality, and blind imitation of Western fashion." (*Pravda*, June 29, 1984)[2]

On July 7 *Pravda* published a report on a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) censuring the Komsomol for failing to create the correct political attitude among youth. These matters were discussed at a Komsomol Central Committee plenum on August 10, addressed by Yegor Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee secretary and Politburo member in charge of Komsomol affairs. Although his speech was not published, its message probably was reflected in an article he authored a month later in the CPSU's leading theoretical journal, *Kommunist* (No. 13, 1984), on the Komsomol. Finally, a January 12, 1985 *Pravda* editorial on ideological education urged the Komsomol to "do much for the purposeful class education of young men and women in the course of the preparations" for the Moscow festival.

[1]A lengthy report on alleged Western "ideological aggression" against Soviet youth authored by Viktor Chebrikov, then-deputy chairman (and now chairman) of the Committee for State Security (KGB), appeared at the same time in *Molodoy Kommunist* No. 4, April 1981. He asserted that "the youth of the country of soviets is a principal target of the subversive endeavors of the enemies of socialism. They are endeavoring with ideological sabotage to shake the communist convictions of young men and women, thrust bourgeois ideology upon them, evoke apolitical and nihilistic sentiments in certain young people and push them into antisocial positions." Indeed, the KGB has long kept watch on Soviet youth. Aleksandr Shelepin, Komsomol first secretary (1952–58), went on to become head of the KGB (1958–61). Vladimir Semichastny, Komsomol first secretary (1958–59) also headed the KGB (1961–67). And current Politburo member Geydar Aliyev, head of the KGB in Baku (1967–69) and involved in police and security work for the previous 26 years, in January 1985 was named head of the U.S.S.R.'s commission on International Youth Year.

[2]Soviet authorities are determined to regulate fashion, even at the upcoming festival. Irina Andreyeva, head art consultant of the U.S.S.R.'s National Fashion House, wrote in the *Festival Herald* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, April 1984) that ". . . clothes are not the most important thing. What is, was, and always will be most important is man's beauty, his soul, his thoughts, desires and actions. Everyone can be beautiful and clothes should play a role, but they should not take the place of the person." Soviet fashion experts think that the major trends in fashion for youth this year will be "democracy, functionalism and universality," according to Andreyeva.

The 12th World Youth Festival

The Kremlin considers the 12th World Youth Festival an important element in its overall campaign to influence international youth and student opinion against Western foreign and defense policies; at the same time Soviet authorities will use the festival's heavy "peace" oriented program to show for domestic consumption that "world opinion," as reflected by new generation representatives visiting Moscow, "coincides" with Soviet views and should be emulated by Soviet youth.

Focus on the Peace Movement. Nevertheless, the gathering's primary purpose is to orient foreign youth and student elements in the antiwar movement in an anti-U.S. direction while avoiding any criticism of Soviet foreign and defense policies. Moscow's insistence that it shares no blame for the nuclear arms buildup was emphasized by CPSU International Department (ID) chief Boris Ponomarev, who is responsible for control of front groups:

> It is extremely important to know the facts that show who is to blame for the extreme tension that has come about in the world. The facts indicate unequivocally that responsibility for this is borne by the most aggressive circles of the NATO countries, primarily the imperialist circles of the United States. (*Radio Moscow*, November 2, 1984)

Other ranking Soviet officials have propounded the same line. In an address to the 11th WFDY assembly in Prague (June 2–9, 1982) establishing goals through 1986, Boris Pastukhov, then-Komsomol first secretary, called the organization of a worldwide antiwar youth campaign, under WFDY auspices, the WFDY's "weightiest goal in the eighties." (*Rude Pravo*, June 4, 1982) The assembly's final document identified the "struggle against the aggressive designs of U.S. imperialist circles and NATO" as the WFDY's primary task for the rest of the decade. (Moscow *New Times*, No. 25, 1982)

Peace for [young people] is the usual state of society. Some of them believe that continuation and strengthening of peace requires no efforts from them personally. Therefore at times they fail to perceive and underestimate the danger of war, which has not ceased to be a harsh reality of our time. . . . Underestimation of the threat of war today and, as a consequence of this, unconcern, complacency, and calm placidity is a dangerous phenomenon which is fraught with serious consequences. Therefore, it is the common duty and most important task of all party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations, by means of vigorous ideological and indoctrination work, to prevent the occurrence of complacency, calm placidity and elements of pacifism, and to combat them resolutely wherever they occur. . . . The Lenin Komsomol is called upon to make a large contribution to the military-patriotic education of youth.

> Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov,
> "*Always in Readiness to Defend the Homeland*,"
> Voyenizdat, 1982

The Kremlin's Public Relations Problems. "Unification" of the antinuclear movement on an exclusively anti-U.S. platform has eluded Moscow, however. The Soviets have been frustrated in their attempts to seek tactical rapprochement with noncommunist—including youth and student-related—

peace activists, chiefly because of their own indecision on how to cooperate with those elements of the movement that criticize Soviet foreign and defense, as well as domestic, policies—specifically suppression of the U.S.S.R.'s "unofficial" peace movement and its continued human rights abuses.

Such Soviet actions—as well as the U.S.S.R.'s desire to maintain political control over all aspects of the upcoming festival—have led several noncommunist youth organizations to make their participation in the Moscow festival contingent upon specific conditions. The Norwegian Conservative Party youth organization, for example, stipulated that:

- The Norwegian national preparatory committee be independently chosen and not controlled by the Norwegian communist party as in past festivals;
- The Democratic Youth Community of Europe (a Christian Democratic and conservative youth organization critical of the Soviet nuclear arms buildup) must decide to attend the Moscow festival; and
- Soviet organizers guarantee that noncommunist delegations be permitted to raise their own topics for discussion—including the situation in Afghanistan and Poland, the treatment of Andrei Sakharov, and the suppression of dissidents. (Oslo *Aftenposten*, July 19, 1984)[3]

Soviet Commentary. Regardless of such criticism—which the Soviets dismiss as "sincerely mistaken" or "wrong"—Moscow remains determined to boost the antiwar movement's momentum and channel its potential into an anti-U.S. direction. High-level Soviet pronouncements and writings have stressed the "cohesion" of the movement, promoted the 12th festival's role in "unifying" its politically diverse elements, and promised "support and assistance" in achieving this goal.

- Current Komsomol First Secretary Viktor Mishin told TASS on June 9, 1984, that the upcoming festival was

> designed to give a powerful impetus to even more vigorous joint actions by wide sections of youth and students, irrespective of their political and philosophical convictions, religion and race, for peace, against the imperialist policy of aggression and wars, for the rights of the younger generation.

He added that recent years had seen a "... sharp intensification of aggressive policies by the forces of U.S. imperialism and its claims to world domination. Under these circumstances, it is particularly important to strengthen the cohesion of all peace forces."

- Yegor Ligachev wrote in the party's leading theoretical journal *Kommunist* (No. 13, September 1984) that:

> uniting the efforts of young people the world over in the struggle for a stable world and against the threat of thermonuclear war has become a burning task in the conditions of increased aggressiveness on the part of imperialism. The CPSU supports the Komsomol's initiatives, which are aimed at fulfilling this task. ... The party and the Soviet Government will give all possible assistance to the Komsomol in the holding of the festival as a mass antiwar and anti-imperialist undertaking so that it will be a major event in International Youth Year.

- In his greetings to an international youth meeting staged in Moscow 1 week before the 12th festival's third International Preparatory Committee (IPC) meeting, then-General Secretary Chernenko asserted that:

> There is no doubt but that the [World Festival of Youth] movement, tested by time, will again clearly show the increased anti-imperialist solidarity of young people, and their readiness for energetic action for peace on earth. (*Radio Moscow*, October 28, 1984)

[3]If past practice holds, Soviet organizers will not permit the dissemination of noncommunist literature as promised in preparatory meetings.

WFDY Statements

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan*

An enlarged session of the WFDY Bureau special disarmament commission has ended in Moscow.

Concerning the question of events in Afghanistan, the majority of the session participants approved the policy of the new government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and came out in support of the aid given to that country by the Soviet Union. The participants in the enlarged commission session also outlined plans for further joint action by young people of different countries in the struggle to preserve peace and deepen the relaxation of international tension.

Soviet Downing of Korean Flight 007*

In a statement the WFDY Bureau has vehemently condemned the provocation concerning the South Korean plane and the malicious anti-Soviet campaign unleashed by the US administration. ...

This time the pretext used was the consequence of a rude trespass into Soviet territory on the night of the 1st of September by an aircraft of the South Korean airlines, a trespass penetrating deeply into Soviet airspace over the Kamchatka Peninsula where the most important military base of the Soviet strategic nuclear forces is located.

The circumstances of this flight over the territory of the USSR, widely known today, enable us to speak about the direct involvement of the US administration in this new large-scale provocation. It cynically used a civilian plane of the South Korean airlines in resizing this.

The blatant campaign unleashed by the USA in connection with the rude violation of the sovereignty of the USSR and the measures that were taken by the Soviet side in full accordance with the widely recognized international regulations existing for these cases leave no room for doubt about the real aims of this provocation.

It is an attempt to create a hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union in international public opinion [and] to achieve distrust for its peaceful policies and peace initiatives.

*Excerpts from an unattributed report in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, January 11, 1980.

**Excerpts from *WFDY News*, No. 11, 1983, p. 1.

- CPSU International Department chief Ponomarev told delegates to the third IPC meeting in Moscow that "questions of the struggle against the threat of war" would be "at the center of attention of participants." He asserted that the "young generation today can rightly be described as antiwar. ... The new antiwar movement, a movement unprecedented in its size and social diversity, is expanding everywhere. ... Dear young friends, you can fully rely on the Soviet Union in [the] supreme battle being waged against the threat of nuclear war." (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, November 3, 1984)
- Chernenko told a gathering of heads of the "socialist" countries' youth organizations in Moscow on November 5, 1984, that the United States "fully and entirely" bore responsibility for the arms buildup in the world, and promised that the Moscow youth festival would become a "mass-scale and impressive anti-war and anti-imperialist event." (TASS, November 5, 1984)

What Will Happen at the Festival? The overriding consideration for the festival's organizers is the need to exercise political control over the proceedings, as well as control over Soviet youth's exposure to such a massive influx of foreign youth (even though many of the latter will be pro-Marxist, if not openly pro-Soviet). The delegates will, therefore, be kept occupied by a full and structured program.

Like the 11 festivals before it, the upcoming conclave will seek to submerge one-sided political statements, resolutions, and appeals in a carnival-like atmosphere featuring sporting and cultural events.[4] According to TASS (July 6, 1984), mass antiwar demonstrations dedicated to the "40th anniversary of the victory over fascism" are scheduled to take place, as well as an international tribunal under the slogan: "Youth Accuses Imperialism." As in the 1978 Havana youth festival, this "tribunal"—with numerous "witnesses" testifying to a "court"

My task was to indoctrinate the right spirit into [Estonian youth]. Instructions came direct from the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow and were passed on by the Komsomol Central Committee in Estonia out to the local secretaries. The correct ideology had to permeate every activity, song, dance, music, theater. . . . But I and many with me saw that there was a gulf between communism's teachings and life. People lack incentive; there is no point in working well, nor in educating oneself well. When man has no goal in life, he is also unable to achieve anything. But this is something the Marxists have never understood.

From an interview with Estonian defector Hillar Raig, former Estonian Komsomol second secretary, in *Svenska Dagbladet*, November 15, 1984

about the "crimes of imperialism" and at which "imperialism" will be found "guilty"—is expected to dominate the festival's proceedings. (The 1978 Havana tribunal featured the presentation of "evidence" by what TASS then called "experts and officials of Cuban security organs.") On trial will be the "military-industrial complex"; "imperialism and colonialism in all their manifestations"; "contemporary fascism"; the "exploitation of child labor"; and "violators of political, economic, and social rights." Other events during festival days devoted to themes such as peace and disarmament; anti-imperialist solidarity; economic cooperation and a new international economic order; and security and cooperation. (*Radio Moscow*, November 2, 1984)

As in previous festivals, the gathering's final communique and various resolutions are expected to conform to Soviet foreign policy positions. Meanwhile, the meetings' communist organizers will attempt to confine discussion at the gathering to the inequities of Western society and portray human rights abuse as an exclusively Western phenomenon. Divergent views, particularly concerning issues such as the U.S.S.R.'s shared responsibility for the nuclear arms buildup, will be actively discouraged or suppressed, where possible, and will not appear in conference documents or communiques—the final texts of which most delegates normally do not see until they are published in communist media.

Buildup for the Festival: 1982–85

Soviet Efforts To Solicit Western Sponsorship. According to European press reports, Moscow initially sought to stage the 12th World Youth Festival in a Western country—the last two festivals having been held in East Germany (1973) and Cuba (1978). French communist officials reportedly warded off an approach in late 1982.

Following a subsequent approach to Finnish communists in late November 1982, the communist-dominated Finnish Democratic Youth League issued a statement urging that the festival be staged in Helsinki and proposing that it be sponsored by all Finnish political youth organizations. (Helsinki *Tiedonantaja*, December 14, 1982)

But according to the Helsinki *Hufvudstadsbladet* (December 11, 1982), memories of the political controversy aroused by the preparations and the events at the 8th World Youth Festival in 1962 in Helsinki evidently persuaded Finnish youth representatives of all political affiliations to decide on April 20, 1983, against holding the festival in Finland.

Retreat to Moscow. Seven months later, Viktor Mishin, Komsomol first secretary, used an anti-American youth rally in Moscow on November 29, 1983, as the platform to announce that the Komsomol had proposed staging the 12th festival in Moscow. He called on "all progressive young people" to start preparations for the "culmination of the struggle against the imperialist policy of atomic arms buildup and preparation for a war with nuclear weapons." (TASS, November 29) Intensive preparations for the festival followed.

- Soon after Mishin's pronouncement, the WFDY issued an "open letter" in connection with the festival which blamed "the most aggressive forces of imperialism, first and foremost the U.S. administration," for "speeding up the arms race."
- WFDY President Walid Masri said in an interview with the East German youth newspaper *Junge Welt* (January 24, 1984) that the WFDY supported the Komsomol proposal to stage the festival in Moscow and considered the Soviet capital to be an "ideal venue." Similar endorsements subsequently were received from the "socialist" countries' youth organizations, as well as the International Union of Students and many of its communist-backed affiliates in Asia and Africa. (*World Student News*, No. 2, 1984)
- A conference of secretaries of the central committees of the "socialist" countries' youth organizations met in Budapest in late January for an "exchange of opinions" on specific measures aimed at "further strengthening cooperation" between the organizations. (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, January 28)
- An annual WFDY Executive Committee session in Havana, February 7–8, featured a speech by Komsomol chief Mishin which focused criticism on the U.S. "invasion" of Grenada, NATO's deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe, and the "U.S.-Israeli occupation of Lebanon." (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, February 9) Immediately afterward, 325 delegates from 96 countries attended the constituent meeting of the festival's International Preparatory Committee (Havana, February 9–11) that announced the festival's slogan—"For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship," the same

[4]Articles contained in the first five issues of the *Festival Herald* (a publication of the festival's Soviet preparatory committee and published in Moscow) provide some sense of the upcoming festival's political nature. Issue No. 1 features stories on Pershing II missiles and the revolution in Nicaragua; No. 2, the African National Congress and the Lenin Komsomol; No. 3, Western "suppression" of the peace movement and the Western drive for "military superiority"; No. 4, the 40th anniversary of the U.S.S.R.'s "defeat of fascism," detente, disarmament, and Soviet "peace initiatives"; and No. 5, the threat of nuclear war, the "new threat" posed by the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, and the "offensive against peace launched by President Reagan."

used in East Berlin (1973) and Havana (1978). An article in the Finnish daily *Helsingin Sanomat* (March 28, 1984) reported that the Yugoslav and some Western delegations had protested the Soviet determination to "hog" the festival arrangements and had opposed the festival slogan because of its one-sided character. Apparently concerned over alienating key noncommunist participants to the festival, Komsomol representatives told Finnish youth officials in March 1984 that the U.S.S.R. accepted the idea of creating an international secretariat to organize the festival and hoped that the Finns would pass this message on to other Western countries.

- The second IPC meeting was staged in Sofia, April 17–19, 1984, and attended by representatives from 220 national and international organizations. In an address to the gathering, Slavko Parac, a representative of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth League, criticized Soviet efforts to dominate preparations for the festival. Parac called for respect for ideological and political differences and a further democratization of relations in the communist-dominated youth and student movement, recalled that the Yugoslav delegation had expressed its reservations on individual sections of the festival's draft appeal at the Havana IPC, and maintained that the appeal and slogan should be in keeping with present-day international political and economic conditions. Parac also stressed that the festival program should avoid an excessive political emphasis, pay more attention to "free forms of activity" appropriate for youth, and reflect nonaligned objectives. (Tanjug, April 18, 1984)

Among a certain section of Moscow's young people, indiscipline, individualism, and passivity in relation to public life and labor are observed. There are some young people who drink and even commit crimes. The Komsomol must struggle for every young person. The interests of our society's continued progress demand the resolute eradication of all negative phenomena among young people.

Politburo member Viktor Grishin,
Komsomolskaya Pravda, January 13, 1985

- *Neues Deutschland* reported on April 23 that a U.S.S.R. national preparatory committee had been set up and that Soviet citizens were participating in the traditional *subbotniks* ("voluntary" weekend work brigades) to raise money for the festival. (Subsequent reports in the East German press alleged that 50 million Soviet youth participated and that almost $300 million had been raised.) The Moscow-based *Festival Herald* (April 1984) also reported that "Afghan boys and girls" had taken an "active part in *subbotniks*," money from which was "remitted" to the Moscow festival fund.

- A Komsomol Central Committee meeting (Moscow, May 18) adopted a resolution instructing Komsomol and Young Pioneer organizations to carry out vigorous organizational and political work in enlisting young people for the festival preparations. Komsomol First Secretary Mishin told a May 21 press conference that 218 organizations representing communist, socialist, social democratic, radical, liberal, and conservative youth and student organizations from 113 countries were participating in the festival's preparations and that about 18,000–20,000 participants were expected. He also claimed that they would have the opportunity to "exchange opinions and carry out joint activities in a frank atmosphere," an indication that the festival's communist organizers were preparing for significant disagreement at the conclave. (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, May 19)

The Moscow Festival and Transportation Problems

In light of recent reports of air disasters involving Soviet civil aircraft, the Soviets have gone out of their way to reassure festival participants of the safety and reliability of the U.S.S.R.'s civil airlines Aeroflot.* In an interview with the *Festival Herald* (February 1984), Aeroflot international air traffic general director Nikolai Poluyanchik asserted that "millions of tourists and businessmen like Aeroflot for its convenience and reliability." In response to his interviewer's questions, Poluyanchik declared that he was "absolutely sure" that Sheremetyevo 2, Moscow's "modern international airport," had no "drawbacks"; that "all the pilots" were "first-class fliers", that "no less skilled air-traffic controllers" would be in charge of ground control; and that safety was guaranteed "one hundred percent."

A subsequent edition of the *Festival Herald* (April 1984) featured an interview with Tatiana Zinchenko, Aeroflot stewardess and U.S.S.R. state prize winner. The article focused on her "delightful smile, tact, hospitable courtesy, high level of professionalism, foreign language skills, understanding of human psychology, powers of observation, choreographic talent, and ability to handle children." These attributes were described as being "exceptionally important" since "foreigners who have been misinformed by Western propaganda or who often do not know anything at all about the U.S.S.R. are given their first and sometimes their only impression of Soviet people by the Aeroflot flight attendants they meet."

Another issue of the *Festival Herald* (January 1985) featured a profile of Aeroflot pilot Anatoly Gorbachev, who will be shuttling foreign delegations to the Moscow festival. Gorbachev's warmth, modesty, and long experience with Soviet civil aviation was highlighted, according to the article, he was recently voted the "best captain" in the Moscow Civil Aviation Authority.

*In September 1983, Soviet jetliner crashed on its approach to Alma Ata; in August 1984 an Aeroflot cargo plane crashed in Pakistan on a flight from Karachi to Tashkent; in early October 1984 a wide-bodied IL-86 with 279 people on board was forced to make an emergency landing when one of its wings began to disintegrate in mid-flight; in mid-October 1984, an Aeroflot passenger plane crashed into a fuel truck while taking off from the Omsk airport; an Aeroflot TU-134 crashed soon after takeoff February 1, 1985, near the Minsk airport.

- A joint session of the WFDY Bureau and the IUS Secretariat was held in Moscow on June 22, apparently to paper over the respective organizations' differing approaches to the festival's preparations. (Attempts by local preparatory committee officials to broaden the composition of national delegations apparently had increased the problem of controlling the proceedings of preparatory meetings and securing the usual unqualified support for the festival's Soviet-produced statements and resolutions, a matter of concern to Soviet officials in the CPSU International Department responsible for front organizations.) The participants at the session applauded the "exceptional political significance" of the Komsomol's decision to host the festival, underscored the "anti-imperialist, antiwar orientation" of the Moscow conclave, and denounced the activities of unnamed "certain forces" which were said to be trying to "cause a split in the worldwide festival movement, specifically, by launching different actions devised at undermining the 12th world festival." (TASS, June 23, 1984) This theme was elaborated upon on August 28 in a *Radio Moscow* interview with Vladimir Malyutin, secretary of the Soviet national preparatory committee, who asserted that:

> the Moscow festival has open and concealed enemies who are not interested in contacts between young people from different countries. [A]ttempts are being made to organize meetings in opposition to the Moscow festival, for example, the rightwing [youth conference] next April in

Jamaica. . . . Certain forces are going to use the International Year of Youth not to bring closer young people in various countries, but to perpetuate differences between them, differences deliberately created by Western politicians.

• The IUS hosted representatives of 12 Soviet-backed international fronts, including the World Peace Council, Christian Peace Conference, International Organization of Journalists, World Federation of Scientific Workers, and the Women's International Democratic Federation, in Prague, October 18–19, 1984. They devoted "special attention" to "improving their coordination of the preparations" of the Moscow festival. According to their joint declaration (*IUS Newsletter*, November 1984), the front representatives asserted their commitment to "provide the necessary assistance in carrying out" the festival's program and urged their respective member organizations to "contribute to the preparatory process on the

Our country's young men and women have had no experience of such terrible social evils as the exploitation of man by man, unemployment, illiteracy, chauvinist and militarist intoxication, and continuous lack of confidence in one's own future—that is, everything that today comprises the joyless existence of their counterparts in the capitalist world.

CPSU Central Committee Secretary Yegor Ligachev, *Kommunist*, No. 13, September 1984

national level." The need for "special attention" to the problem of front coordination—and the fact that the joint declaration underscored the "closely cooperating" nature of the fronts, a fact rarely mentioned publicly—suggested dissatisfaction within national preparatory committees and the festival's organizational bodies over the role of highly visible Soviet-backed groups, such as the WPC, in the festival's preparations.

• Representatives from 112 countries and 28 international fronts and organizations attended the festival's third IPC meeting, November 2–4, 1984, in Moscow. The meeting was opened by Komsomol chief Mishin and addressed by International Department chief Ponomarev. IPC treasurer Ervin Farkas told the gathering that the international solidarity fund had opened its account at a bank in Vienna; donations were coming in from unidentified "international organizations and individuals."

• A consultative gathering of the leaders of the "socialist" countries' youth organizations met November 3 during the IPC conclave; participants "voiced certainty" that the Moscow festival would be a "major antiwar, anti-imperialist event for the younger generation." (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, November 6). One month later, heads of ideological departments and chief editors of newspapers of the communist countries' youth organizations met in Prague, December 4–6, to discuss the promotion and publicizing of the 12th festival. They issued a statement that the "rightist efforts" to break the unity of the "international democratic youth and student movement" showed the need for "more intensive ideological cooperation among youth organizations." (CTK, December 4 and 6; *Prague Radio*, December 6). This call for cooperation was repeated verbatim by *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, December 7.

• Delegates from 126 countries attended the fourth IPC meeting, March 28–April 1, 1985, in Moscow. Jean-Claude Kennedy, coordinating secretary, said that "never before in the history of the festival movement had its program been so carefully elaborated," which was evidence of its "high prestige among young people throughout the word." Kennedy, a member of the French WFDY affiliate, revealed that Moscow maintains de facto control over all aspects of the festival's preparations when he told *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (March 29, 1985) that the IPC's permanent-commission works in "close contact" with the Soviet national preparatory committee "in accordance with the traditions of the festival movement." The permanent commission's tasks, according to Kennedy, include establishing contacts between the IPC and national, regional, and international organizations interested in supporting the festival and "preparing a draft of a detailed program for the festival." On April 29 Politburo member Geydar Aliyev and ID chief Ponomarev addressed a session of the Soviet International Youth Year Commission, which Aliyev heads. They noted that preparations for the festival and the "provisions being

Soviet Commentary on the Jamaica International Youth Conference

Beginning in January 1985, Moscow went to great lengths to discourage participation and ultimately undermine the International Youth Conference (IYC) in Kingston, Jamaica, April 6–9, 1985. The Soviet-sponsored propaganda campaign depicted the IYC as an "imperialist maneuver" designed to "split the world youth and student movement" and in the process revealed Soviet insecurity that the independently organized event might threaten to undercut the Komsomol-hosted Moscow festival. Worse for Moscow was the prospect that the Kingston gathering would challenge what the Soviets believe to be their role as "center" of the world's "democratic and progressive" youth forces and draw sharp distinctions between communist-backed affiliates of the WFDY and Western-oriented noncommunist youth and student organizations. The propaganda campaign also reflected Soviet frustration that communist youth groups were not invited to Jamaica. Those that were invited from the communist bloc—including members of the outlawed Solidarity trade union in Poland—were not permitted to leave their countries.

• TASS (January 27) called the IYC an "undisguised attempt at undermining the positions of the functioning, universally recognized organizations which represent the interests" of the world's youth and students, an allusion to the affiliates of the WFDY and IUS. The IYC was labeled a "gross act of imperialism's interference" in youth and student affairs.

• The Soviet journal *Asia and Africa Today* (January-February 1985) called the IYC's organizers "rabid enemies of peace" and accused Western mass media of trying to undermine the "authority" of the WFDY and IUS.

• TASS (January 30) called the IYC a "provocative event" and "sordid idea" staged by "rightwing forces" and "present-day provocateurs."

• Tomas Morgensen, a Danish WFDY official, told TASS (February 25) that the IYC was a "cruise missile launched by the Reagan administration with the aim to split the world festival movements."

• A lengthy article in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (March 6) called the IYC an "act of psychological warfare" and claimed that it had been condemned by such "prestigious" international youth groups as the WFDY and IUS.

• TASS alleged on April 1 that "pressure, intimidation, blackmail and payoffs" had been used to prepare for the "Jamaica rally" to which Cuban and Nicaraguan "counterrevolutionaries" and Afghan "counterrevolutionary bandits" had been invited.

made for its program" were "proceeding generally in an organized manner" and urged the heads of Soviet Government ministries, departments, and organizations to "adopt more effective measures for timely and guaranteed realization of all the planned events." (*Radio Moscow*, April 30, 1985)

Recent Events Sponsored by the U.S.S.R. and WFDY

For the past 4 years, Moscow and the WFDY have sought to cultivate independent elements of the European antinuclear movement and to persuade them to focus their efforts away from criticism of Soviet/Warsaw Pact foreign and defense policies and against NATO's deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe. U.S. policies toward the Third World also have come under ever-increasing attack by the WFDY and other Soviet-backed fronts.

1981. A WFDY Executive Committee meeting in Beirut (March 18–20) condemned NATO's plans to deploy missiles in Western Europe and supported Soviet President Brezhnev's "peace proposals." Resolutions on peace and social progress and on solidarity with oppressed peoples also were adopted. A WFDY statement on the 40th anniversary of Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R. thanked the "foreign policy of the "socialist countries" for the preservation of peace since 1945 (*Neues Deutschland*, June 16), while a WFDY/IUS joint meeting (Budapest, July 10) expressed "high appreciation" of the "peace policy" of the U.S.S.R. and its allies. A WFDY/IUS conference on the Indian Ocean (India, August 28–30) was opened by Romesh Chandra, president of the World Peace Council. Over 100 representatives of youth organizations from 31 Latin American countries, as well as WFDY leadership members, attended a regional youth conclave in Nicaragua, September 25–27, aimed at "revealing the dangers of imperialist intervention in Central America"; resolutions were adopted expressing solidarity with the country's "revolutionary process." A WFDY delegation headed by then-WFDY President Ottone participated along with 100 other delegations and "national liberation movements" and "solidarity committees" in an international youth conference on southern Africa in Angola (November 13–15). Its final communique denounced "collusion" between the Western powers and Israel and South Africa. At a WFDY Executive Committee meeting in Cyprus (December 16–18), Ottone told the gathering that the "struggle for peace and disarmament" was its most important mission and condemned U.S. plans to produce neutron weapons while praising Soviet proposals for the limitation of nuclear arms. (*Neues Deutschland*, December 17–20)

1982. In January, a Mediterranean youth peace conference was staged in Athens with WFDY, IUS, Soviet, and other representatives in attendance (TASS, January 25); the gathering urged that the Mediterranean be turned into a "zone of peace." A special WFDY Bureau meeting in February condemned U.S. production of neutron weapons. WFDY European and North American affiliates gathering in Budapest (April 17–18) discussed the tasks of youth organizations and their role in campaigning against the arms race.

The 11th WFDY General Assembly (Prague, June 3–9) urged an intensification of the struggle for peace, disarmament, and social progress and against imperialism and called on all youth organizations to unite against the threat of war. WFDY delegations from West Germany, the U.S.S.R., East Germany, Finland, Sweden, and Denmark left Kiel on August 13 on a "peace voyage" through the Baltic organized by the WFDY as part of the "wide range of activities against the nuclear arming of NATO and stationing of new U.S. atomic missiles in Western Europe." (ADN, August 13)

1983. Representatives of 25 WFDY European affiliates met in Budapest in late March to discuss the WFDY's role in the European peace movement. Over 250 delegates attended a WFDY Executive Committee meeting in West Berlin, April 21–23, to further consider the WFDY's role in the "struggle for peace and disarmament." (Hungarian news agency MTI, April 21 and 23) In late May the secretaries of youth organizations of communist states held a "peace meeting" in Potsdam to promote efforts against NATO policies on intermediate-range nuclear forces. WFDY delegates participated in a youth peace festival in Lisbon (July 25–30); in September a seminar sponsored in Frankfurt by the WFDY-affiliated International Committee of Children's and Adolescents' Movements (CIMEA) adopted an appeal for peace and against INF deployment (*Neues Deutschland*, September 17–19). A WFDY-sponsored international youth seminar on peace was held October 28–30 in Warsaw (Polish news agency PAP, October 30), while the following month, CIMEA staged an "International Tribunal Against Imperialism" in Angola (November 28–30). It heard more than 20 testimonials from African, Asian, and Central and South American youth before condemning the "warlike regime" of the Reagan Administration as the "main culprit in the aggravation of the situation of exploitation, poverty, and oppression affecting the greater part of the world's population, including millions of children." (*Neues Deutschland*, November 29, December 1)

To bring up young people who are prepared for work and defense, persistently teach them modern military affairs; educate them in the spirit of love for their country's army and loyalty to their military duty—this is our universal concern.

From the report by Mikhail Gorbachev at the December 10, 1984 session of the Moscow All-Union Ideological Conference, as published in *Zhivoye Tvorchestvo Naroda*, December 13, 1984

1984. A WFDY Executive Committee meeting in Havana, February 7–8, was attended by 200 delegates from 87 countries; they adopted a 1984 program of action that pledged to concentrate on the "struggle to preserve peace" and passed

a resolution welcoming the holding of the 12th World Youth Festival in Moscow in 1985. (*Neues Deutschland*, February 9 and 10). A CIMEA presidium meeting (February 23–24 in East Germany) issued an appeal to children to join in "the broadest protest movement against the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe." (ADN, February 23 and 24). A WFDY-sponsored "youth peace meeting" (March 31–April 1, Copenhagen) was attended by 150 delegates from 70 youth organizations; they discussed the struggle for peace and opposition to the "NATO arms race." Participants in an international youth conference on Asia (Mongolia, August 16–19), called upon peoples in the region to intensify the struggle to prevent a "nuclear catastrophe"; expressed support for Soviet peace proposals; denounced the U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean and the deployment of "first-strike" missiles in Europe; and stressed the importance of the July 1985 World Youth Festival in Moscow. (*Neues Deutschland*, August 17–21). Representatives of 54 organizations from 34 countries and four international fronts attended a WFDY-sponsored meeting of solidarity with Turkey. (Athens, September 14). A WFDY-sponsored conference on confidence and security-building measures in Europe was held in late November in Sweden. (TASS, November 25)

Internal Dissent

As in all Soviet-backed fronts, dissent and opposition to Soviet domination sometimes surfaces. At the 11th WFDY assembly (Prague, June 3–9, 1982), for example, the British Young Communist League (YCL) expressed opposition to a final resolution that blamed the United States and NATO for the world's problems. The YCL pointed out that it was totally opposed to martial law in Poland and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and criticized the manner in which "peace" was dealt with in the Executive Committee's report. The YCL further rejected the notion that the United States and its allies were the exclusive source of world tension and expressed the wish that the WFDY take into account the existence of different, even opposing, points of view on particular issues. (*Morning Star*, June 21, 1982)

Commenting on this assembly, Jerzy Jaskiernia, president of the Polish Socialist Youth Union, told the Warsaw *Sztandar Mlodych* (June 2–4, 1982) that:

> It is clearly evident that with the increased complexity of the international situation there is an increase in the number of controversies within the WFDY. As the WFDY becomes more representative of the progressive youth movements, consensus becomes increasingly more difficult.

Finally, *Rude Pravo* noted on June 14 that:

> some member organizations, especially from some capitalist countries, came to Prague with the intention of disturbing the course of the Assembly and weakening the unity of this progressive organization. Toward the end of the session, some of their representatives came out with divergent views on fundamental political problems and on the formulations presented for discussion on the basic documents.

The 7-year interval between the 11th and 12th festivals (the longest since the festival series began in 1947) and the eventual retreat to Moscow (Soviet efforts to stage this year's festival in France and then Finland failed) underscore the difficulties the organizers continue to face, especially in trying to disguise the political complexion of the event and attract non-communist outsiders.

Previous World Youth Festivals

The 9th World Youth Festival, July 28–August 6, 1968, Sofia. This gathering had been scheduled and postponed several times because of disagreements within the International Preparatory Committee on its location and problems created by political developments and disputes. (Algeria and then Ghana were dropped as the festival site because of changes in political regimes.)

As usual, the WFDY and IUS sponsored the festival, although other Soviet-backed organizations participated, including the World Peace Council, the International Organization of Journalists, the Women's International Democratic Federation, and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization.

Before the festival the IPC estimated a participation of about 18,000 delegates from 143 countries; actual participation was about 10,000 from 120 countries. The Chinese, who earlier branded the sponsors as "instruments of the treacherous policy of Komsomol and Soviet youth," did not send a delegation. Nor were Cuba, Albania, and Puerto Rico represented—reportedly because of the IPC's objectives and the methods used by it to achieve "unanimous" decisions. The festival's sponsors prevented the International Union of Socialist Youth from attending; other absentees included the Union of Christian Democratic Youth of Latin America and the Continental Organization of Latin American Students.

Proceedings were marred throughout by walkouts (for example, by the delegation from the Revolutionary Popular Movement of Congo Youth); protests (from the Czechoslovak, Yugoslav, West German, Romanian, Finnish, and several African delegations); and intradelegation conflicts (those from France, U.K., Greece, and Iran). Dissatisfaction with the proceedings caused the Pan-African Youth Movement to announce later in August that it would no longer participate in communist-sponsored youth festivals.

The dissension which characterized the festival was dismissed by its communist sponsors as the work of "international reaction" which had "attempted to undermine from within and generally to discredit the festival idea." (Bulgarian news agency BTA, August 8). The sponsors maintained that these "destructive forces" had been overcome, although then-Komsomol First Secretary Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov did allude to the broad range of disagreement at the conclave when he singled out for special mention the festival's "acute political content" and "constructive dialogue" among the delegates. (TASS, August 7)

His view was not, however, shared by some of Moscow's East European allies. Ion Iliescu, leader of the Romanian delegation, noted the presence of restrictions and discrimination as well as a "climate of tension and suspicion," adding that "many of the political debates took place, unfortunately, in an atmosphere in which sincere, open discussion . . . was prevented by the violence of the language and by accusations and invective which should have no place in any forum." (*Scinteia Tineretului*, Bucharest, August 13). The Romanians demanded the development of "new forms" to facilitate cohesion of the world youth movement and were joined in this by the Czechoslovaks, who suggested that "eventual organization of further festivals should be the result of a completely democratic decision by all organizations which want to participate in the festival." (*Prague Radio*, August 6 and 7) Delegates spoke openly about manipulation of debates, harassment of delegations, and official intimidation (especially measures taken by the Bulgarian secret police) used to secure consensus among festival organizers.

The August 21 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia shortly after the festival was a source of severe embarrassment to the WFDY. Its then-president, Rodolfo Mechini, personally condemned the invasion and was ousted, but affiliates were divided, reflecting the disharmony that had been apparent at the festival. Meetings were held in Prague, involving representatives of Britain's Young Communist League, the Soviet Komsomol, and the French Movement of Communist Youth, but the WFDY Bureau took no action and did not protest the Soviet invasion.

The 10th World Youth and Student Festival, July 28–August 5, 1973, East Berlin. Although sponsored by the WFDY and IUS, the East German youth organization, "Free German Youth," created a national festival committee to host the festival in East Berlin, with East German leader Erich Honecker as chairman (ADN, February 18, 1972).

A provisional working group—comprised of communist representatives of the Free German Youth and several international fronts, including the WFDY and IUS—met in East Berlin in April, Prague in May, Budapest in June, and East Berlin again in August. By early fall 50 national preparatory committees (under local communist auspices) had been established to "choose" delegates to go to the festival.

A second meeting of the IPC (East Berlin, October 5–6) revealed that the aim of the prefestival campaign was to create the widest possible unity of action of the "anti-imperialist forces." It proposed a new slogan—"For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship"—that reflected Moscow's desire to focus criticism on the West and away from the policies of the U.S.S.R. This slogan was opposed by the British delegation, which sought to reinstate the previous one—"For Solidarity, Peace and Friendship" (ADN, October 3, 5, 7; *Mlada Front*, October 4, 6, 7; CTK, October 7).

Moscow ensured its control over the drafting of the festival's agenda by placing a Soviet official, Nikolai Smelov, as head of its program committee. Preliminary topics raised at the October IPC conclave thus predictably included "festival days" honoring such favorite Soviet causes as Vietnam, national liberation, and "solidarity with youth and students fighting militarism, fascism, and repression"; major events devoted to Indochina, Arab youth and students, Portuguese colonies, South Africa, and rights of students and children; and conferences to discuss international student unity and "problems of young workers." (*Mlada Front*, October 6).

The final WFDY meeting of the year, an international conference on "working youth in contemporary society" (Moscow, November 10–15), brought together 271 youth organizations, WFDY, and other international front representatives from 115 countries. It served to underscore the importance the U.S.S.R. attached to a show of international "unity" of youth and students under Soviet auspices. Leading CPSU officials responsible for Soviet liaison with youth organizations abroad, including ID chief Boris Ponomarev and the late Evgeny Fedorov (then head of the Soviet Peace Committee), addressed the gathering. A final conference statement urged young workers to support unity among anti-imperialist forces (TASS, November 10; *L'Humanite*, November 11; *Radio Moscow*, November 10–15).

In the final weeks preceding the festival, several delegations canceled their trips to East Berlin. The All India Samawadi Yuvjan Sabha announced its withdrawal from the WFDY "and boycott of the festival as a protest against the composition of the Indian delegation" (its general secretary told news reporters that the delegation did not represent Indian youth but the communist parties in India (*Indian Express*, July 4). An East German decision to deny visitors' permits to West Berliners, West Germans, and other foreigners because of "lack of room" in East Berlin had to be revoked after protests by the Western powers, who accused East Germany of violating the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin (*The Guardian*, London, July 13; *The Times*, July 17).

On July 28, the festival opened in East Berlin with a parade by 25,600 youth and student representatives from 140 countries. In an interview with *Neues Deutschland* on July 27, Honecker stated that "... the 10th world youth festival will take its place as an effective step in the series of great political activities aimed at further tipping the world balance of power to the advantage of socialism."

In expressing his appreciation to Honecker, then-WFDY President Robert Vlezzi thanked the "leaders of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries for helping to provide the conditions for such a splendid festival" (ADN, August 1).

Although sporting and cultural events were an integral part of the festival program, the main thrust of the activities was political. Each day had its own designation, such as "Solidarity" with the "Peoples of Indochina" or with the "National Liberation Movements Struggling for Independence in Africa," or struggles in behalf of the "Rights of Youth and Students," or the "Overthrow of Monopolies, Fascism and Oppression." The festival's final appeal urged "firm cooperation" among young people in the fight against imperialism and for national independence.

The festival was not without its problems. Again, neither China nor Albania attended. (The Soviets charged the Chinese not only forbade participation but also encouraged their agents to undermine the proceedings (*Radio Moscow*, August 9). A number of delegations from the West complained that free discussions had been curtailed and that some of their literature had been torn up by young East Berliners. (*Sunday Telegraph*, London, July 29). Scuffles broke out during heated arguments, and on one occasion police had to interfere. (Hamburg DPA, August 3).

Several weeks after the festival ended, both the "Junge Union" of West Germany and the Central Committee of Romania's Communist Youth Organization suggested that all political elements be represented in the IPC in order to counter a one-sided alignment (DPA, August 19). Indeed,

World Youth Festivals

Date/Place/No. of Participants
July 1947/Prague, Czechoslovakia/17,000
August 1949/Budapest, Hungary/10,000
August 1951/East Berlin/26,000
August 1953/Bucharest, Rumania/30,000
July 1955/Warsaw, Poland/30,000
July 1957/Moscow, U.S.S.R./34,000
July 1959/Vienna, Austria/18,000
July 1962/Helsinki, Finland/10,800
July 1968/Sofia, Bulgaria/10,000
July 1973/East Berlin/25,600
July 1978/Havana, Cuba/18,500
July 1985/Moscow, U.S.S.R./20,000 (est.)

Profile: The World Federation of Democratic Youth*

Name: World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Headquarters/Formation: Budapest/1945.

Claimed Strength: Over 270 affiliates in *at least* 123 countries; claimed total membership over 150 million.

Publications: *World Youth* (Monthly), *WFDY News* (semimonthly).

UN Status: UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (B), Economic and Social Council (I), Food and Agriculture Organization, International Labor Organization (Special List.)

Presidential Board: *President:* Walid Masri (Lebanon). *Nine vice presidents:* Khalil Ellas (Sudan), Manuel Hernandez Vida (Chile), Nguyen Van Ky (Vietnam), Alfred Junior (Angola), Li Jong Gun (North Korea), Vasvolod Nalticlokin (U.S.S.R., WPC member), Francisco Philipe (Portugal), Jorge Prigoshin (Argentina), Pablo Reyes Dominguez (Cuba), Binoy Viswm (India).

Secretariat: *Secretary general:* Vilmos Csanyeny (Hungary; formerly head of the Hungarian Youth Organization's International Department). *Two deputy secretaries general:* Miguel Gonzales Rojas (Colombia), Turay Saidu (Sierra Leone). *Sixteen secretaries:* Tadaaki Kawata (Japan), Selim Obeyid Attemini (South Yemen), Joachim Bruckner (East Germany), Tarley Francis (Grenada), Freddy Fernandez (Venezuela), Mihai Botorog (Romania), Lubomir Lasl (Czechoslovakia), Allan Lopez (Costa Rica), Michel Nkoli (Congo), Anatas Rupchev (Bulgaria), Konstantin Stathis (Greece), Tomas Morgenstin (Denmark), Markku Soppela (Finland), Andre Gerhardt (Poland), Daniel Santana (Dominican Republic), Jackie Selbi (South Africa).

Related Organizations: *Official subsidiaries:* International Bureau of Tourism and Youth Exchange, International Commission of Children's and Adolescents' Movements, International Voluntary Service for Friendship and Solidarity of Youth. *De facto affiliates:* Arab Youth Union, Pan-African Youth Movement.

*Based on issues of WFDY *News*.

Romanian President Ceausescu told a WFDY Executive Committee meeting in Bucharest (December 17–20, 1973) that a "diversity of views on the ways of developing the social struggle, the anti-imperialist struggle, is inevitable." (Agerpres, Bucharest, December 20)

The 11th World Youth and Student Festival, July 25-August 5, 1978. An IPC constituent meeting (East Berlin, February 13, 1975) decided that the 11th festival should be held in Havana in 1978. Speakers at the meeting praised the "consistent and constructive foreign policies of the U.S.S.R." for improving the international climate and thus the prospects for the festival movement. (TASS, February 12, 13, and 15)

The festival slogan, "For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship," was adopted at an IPC meeting in Havana on April 6, 1977, which established a permanent IPC commission. The commission met in Havana, September 19–20, 1977. A protocol on radio communications and services for the festival was signed October 9 between the U.S.S.R. youth organization Komsomol and the Cuban organizing committee (*Havana Radio*, October 9, 1977), national preparatory committees were established in Africa, Asia, and Europe (*WFDY News*), and "substantial" financial contributions from Soviet voluntary Saturday labor battalions were reported. (*Neues Deutschland*, November 30, 1977) Also, the first national propaganda meeting in connection with the festival was staged in Santiago de Cuba on November 12.

Disagreement surrounding the preparations surfaced in mid-January 1978. Two British organizations—the Young Conservatives and the Federation of Conservative Students—demanded guarantees that human rights would be discussed in the Soviet Union as well as in the West, before they would agree to participate in the Havana festival. They also sought assurances of freedom of speech and freedom to disseminate literature as well as a wider range of discussions. (*The Guardian*, London, January 19, 1978)

The two organizations ultimately boycotted the festival because they charged that Soviet domination had caused controversial human rights and other questions to be banned from the agenda. Similar reasons were alleged for the withdrawal of nearly every other West European Christian Democrat delegation (including the West German Christian Democrats), as well as both the Austrian and Norwegian youth councils. (*Morning Star*, April 27, 1978; *The Guardian*, London, April 27)

Further dissent arose at the fourth meeting of the IPC, March 2–3, 1978, in East Berlin. According to *Juventud Rebelde* (Havana, March 6), differences over the festival program had caused "long and intense discussions." The newspaper explained at the time that agreement was reached by consensus and not by voting within the IPC and that this would lead to a "... Festival with a more streamlined and definite political outlook, a clear demonstration of its broad, democratic and united spirit, and a strengthening of the international Festival movement."

The following month, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago stated that it had refused a request by its local National Preparatory Committee for financial assistance to send a delegation to Havana and stressed that there would be no official representation from Trinidad since the festival would be geared to the interests of the socialist and communist countries. (*Trinidad Guardian*, April 6, 1978)

A month before the festival's opening, the ruling Senegalese Socialist Party's Political Bureau denounced the festival organizing committee's proposal to divide African delegations into "revolutionary" and "nonrevolutionary," claiming that this would "sap the foundations of African unity." (*Le Soleil*, Dakar, June 16, 1978)

The festival attracted some 25,000 people, including about 18,500 delegates representing nearly 2,000 organizations from 145 countries, plus guests, journalists, and tourists. Discussions related to solidarity with the peoples of Africa, Latin America, and the Arab countries; concern of youth and students with peace and detente; the struggle against imperialism and colonialism; the situations of youth in capitalist countries, and the striving by youth to build socialism in Cuba. (*Juventud Rebelde*, July 28-August 4)

The main feature of the festival was a "youth accuses imperialism" tribunal that featured the "testimony" of numerous "witnesses," including ex-CIA agent Philip Agee who presented what *Havana Radio* called "irrefutable proof of the crimes committed by capitalist powers against underdeveloped and developing countries." According to TASS (August 5), the 6-day tribunal was "greatly helped in its work" by evidence presented by "experts and officials of Cuban state security organs." "Imperialism" was found guilty of "colonialism, neocolonialism, various forms of discrimination and aggression, ... establishing regimes of terror, repression and fascism, ... and all the privations suffered by the young people in respect to their social, economic, political and cultural positions." (TASS, August 5)

At the festival's close, participants adopted a final document which was a blatant reflection of Soviet foreign policy positions. It called upon young people in all countries to step up their actions for peace, detente, and international cooperation; ending the arms race and imperialist wars; general and complete disarmament; raising the protest against the manufacture of new destructive weapons such as the neutron bomb; and a continuing struggle against colonialism, racism, and fascism. (TASS, August 7) The Yugoslavs refused to sign because it reflected the cold war period when festivals "constituted a special kind of forum to express the positions and the ideas of the East European countries." (*Mladost*, as reported by Tanjug, August 14)

The head of the Soviet youth delegation, Komsomol chief Boris Pastukhov, told TASS on August 6 that the 11th World Youth Festival was an event "of great significance in the movement of progressive forces of youth of the whole world." But opposition on the part of some delegations to the festival's Soviet-dominated agenda prompted Moscow's *Radio Peace and Progress* subsequently to assert (October 27) that the "imperialists and Maoists" were attempting to divide the youth of "liberated" and "socialist" countries by encouraging "nationalist sentiments, anticommunist views, and outright anti-Sovietism" among the young in the developing world. Vietnamese and Soviet delegations attempted to have China condemned but without success (*Le Moâde*, August 8; *L'Humanite*, August 7), while the Italians and the British had sought to condemn violations of human rights in communist as well as noncommunist countries. (*Morning Star*, August 2; *L'Unita*, August 5)

APPENDIX

WFDY Origins

The WFDY originated shortly after the Nazi invasion of the U.S.S.R. when communist representatives of youth groups met in London in November 1941 to examine ways to mobilize youth against Hitler and in support of the Soviet Union. This meeting attracted diverse political groups and led to the formation of the World Youth Council (WYC) in 1942.

After the Allied victory in Europe, the WYC, heavily communist influenced, held an international youth conference in London in November 1945 attended by 437 delegates and 148 observers from 63 countries. The WYC was disbanded at the conference, making way for the new World Federation of Democratic Youth. Although youths of varied political persuasions attended the WFDY's founding conference, communists obtained most of the federation's key executive positions. And while the WFDY initially had a number of noncommunist youth organizations as affiliates, it followed a clearly pro-Soviet orientation. Most noncommunists left the WFDY, then headquartered in Paris, within a few years. The organization itself was expelled from Paris and moved its headquarters to Budapest in 1951.

WFDY History, 1947–60

With the deterioration of East-West relations in the late 1940s, the WFDY was increasingly hostile toward any opposition to Soviet views and policies. One of the first major demonstrations of its ideological alignment was the first World Youth Festival, which it organized jointly with the Moscow-backed International Union of Students. Held in Prague (July 20 to August 17, 1947) and attended by some 17,000 persons from 67 countries, the festival was the occasion for highly invective propaganda against the United States.

The WFDY's pro-Soviet stance hardened further during the following 2 years, resulting in the withdrawal of most of the WFDY noncommunist membership. The second World Youth Festival (August 14–28, 1949, in Budapest) was boycotted by most noncommunist organizations. At this gathering a "Manifesto for Peace" condemned the "warlike preparations of the capitalist countries" led by the American "imperialists," attacked NATO and the Marshall Plan, and appealed to youth to support the "invincible army of peace partisans headed by the mighty Soviet Union."

Conforming to its pro-Soviet alignment and in response to the 1948 expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform, the WFDY expelled its Yugoslav affiliates in 1950, describing them as "traitors to the cause of peace and democracy, and deserters to the camp of the imperialist warmongers." The WFDY further proselytized its sectarian views at the third World Youth Festival, held in East Berlin, August 5–19, 1951. The two dominating themes at that conclave—which attracted some 26,000 youth from 104 countries—were the communist victory in China and attacks against the UN intervention in North Korea. In January of that year, the WFDY was expelled from Paris and moved its headquarters to Budapest.

Stalin's death in March 1953 briefly tempered the WFDY's anti-Western militancy. At the fourth World Youth Festival (August 2–16) in Bucharest, attended by 30,000 youths from 111 countries, the WFDY ceased demanding complete support from noncommunist organizations and suggested "limited support" on specific "nonpartisan" issues. There were fewer direct attacks on the West by delegates from communist countries—that was left to communists from colonial or neutral states. The U.S.S.R.'s interest in retaining the WFDY's allegiance, however, was indicated by Aleksandr Shelepin's appointment as the federation's first vice president. (The head of the Komsomol, Shelepin later became the head of the KGB.) The late Enrico Berlinguer, who became head of the Italian Communist Party in the 1960s, was elected WFDY president.

The fifth World Youth Festival took place in Warsaw in July-August 1955. Attended by 30,000 youths from 115 countries, it reflected the line of "peaceful coexistence" then promulgated by the Soviet Union.

The Hungarian uprising the following year led to the one recorded difference of opinion within WFDY leadership. In a statement issued on December 6, 1956, the WFDY regretted the "tragic events" in Hungary, indicating that there had been "differences of opinion over their interpretation."

About 34,000 participants attended the WFDY's sixth World Youth Festival (Moscow, July 1957), which was oriented primarily toward attracting the support of young people from developing countries. Its major theme was anticolonialism, and delegates from developing areas were given preferential treatment, such as special accommodations. It was the last youth festival to be relatively free of controversy. In 1959 and 1962, the seventh and eighth World Youth Festivals were staged in noncommunist European countries—Austria (18,000 participants) and Finland (10,800), respectively—where greater noncommunist participation led to significant dissension to which festival organizers responded with violence. Subsequent WFDY attempts to organize meetings in nonocommunist European countries failed; applications consistently drew negative replies by Western governments.

Chinese and Cuban Opposition. The WFDY's alignment with Soviet foreign policy positions by the mid-1960s had generated Chinese and Cuban opposition. The Sino-Soviet conflict was reflected in WFDY deliberations as early as 1960 but did not develop into a major issue until 1963. At a WFDY-sponsored international seminar on colonialism staged in Algiers in April 1963, for example, the Chinese delegation attacked the Soviet policy of "peaceful coexistence" and called for greater support for revolutionary "national liberation" movements, failing to obtain significant support for their views, they walked out of the meeting. At a meeting of the WFDY Secretariat in August 1963, the Chinese criticized the federation's support for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, noted that the WFDY's leadership was not representative of youth but composed of "paid Soviet agents," and, again, left the meeting.

During the next few years Chinese opposition to the WFDY's pro-Soviet orientation was increasingly demonstrated in boycotts of WFDY meetings and conferences and culminated in the withdrawal of permanent Chinese representation from the organization's headquarters in late 1966. Soon thereafter, WFDY President Rodolfo Mechini asserted that "anti-Soviet tendencies are always indications of being against the forces of peace, progress, independence and socialism" and said the Chinese withdrawal would "injure the solidarity of the forces of anti-imperialism and aid aggression." (*Sztandar Mlodych*, Warsaw, February 10, 1967). Replying to these accusations, WFDY Vice President Chia Hsueh-chien protested the "rabid anti-China outbursts" which "proved once again that the WFDY had completely degenerated into an instrument for carrying out the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the Soviet leading cliques." (New China News Agency, March 6, 1967). Subsequently, Mechini was refused permission to travel to Vietnam via Peking.

Cuban opposition to the WFDY surfaced in 1964 for reasons somewhat similar to those of the Chinese, i.e., the WFDY's lack of "revolutionary fervor." Cuban opposition undercut much of the federation's work in Latin America. Apart from a Latin American Youth Conference held in Havana in July-August 1960, the WFDY succeeded in holding only one other gathering in Latin America—another regional youth conference in Santiago, Chile, in March 1964. Cuban attacks on the organization continued well into the decade; at a routine meeting of the WFDY assembly (Sofia, 1966), the Cuban delegate strongly condemned the WFDY for the "little importance it attached to national liberation movements" and condemned both the structure of the WFDY and its lack of support for Latin America. (Cuban pique stemmed, in part, from Castro's determined bid to have Havana selected as the site of the ninth World Youth Festival. Postponement of that event—it was ultimately staged 3 years late in Sofia in 1968—provided time for fence-mending and to persuade the Cubans to abandon their earlier threat to boycott the festival if it were held in Europe.)

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Soviet International Fronts

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Introduction

From its very beginnings to the present, the Soviet Union has sought to gain support for its policies through front organizations, allegedly representing a broad spectrum of opinion. Through such fronts, the Soviet Union attempts to lend its policies an air of respectability, credibility, and popular support that would not exist if their backing around the world came solely from avowedly Communist sources.

Although these fronts claim to be unaffiliated with Communist parties or countries, they are controlled by Communists, and their activities are directed toward serving Soviet interests. Such groups, which outwardly resemble other mass organizations, commonly seek to attract rank-and-file members by appearing to emphasize issues such as disarmament and anticolonialism while actually advocating an agenda set by Moscow.

Perhaps the best known Communist front is the World Peace Council (WPC). Founded in Paris in 1949 as the World Committee of Partisans for Peace, the WPC has been based in Helsinki since 1968. It is a Soviet "front" organization composed of more than 135 national constituent groups such as the US Peace Council, the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace (SCDP), and the British Peace Assembly. The WPC also maintains links with other Communist fronts purportedly representing trade unions, women, youth, students, and church groups, among others.

The WPC is an international umbrella group whose top leadership coordinates the WPC's subordinate bodies—usually organized by local Communist parties, but including some non-Communists—in support of Soviet policy. The WPC supported the Soviet invasions of Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968), and Afghanistan (1979).

Non-Communist organizations and individuals participating in WPC campaigns and triennial assemblies have been blocked from registering their views if they deviate from the pro-Soviet position formulated by the WPC leadership. This control is maintained by organizational and financial means.

Organizationally, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) controls the WPC through the International Department's International Social Organization Sector, which is responsible for front organizations. This special branch falls under the general responsibility of Vitaliy Shaposhnikov, a deputy chief of the International Department and member of the WPC's Presidential Committee. Yuriy Zhukov, a WPC vice president, is also a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and the chairman of the SCDP, the Soviet WPC national affiliate. Through such direct lines to key WPC officials, as well as through heavy pro-Moscow Communist representation in WPC governing bodies, the CPSU controls decisions on WPC projects and activities as well as the content of statements and communiques. For example, of the 26 vice presidents of the WPC's Presidential Committee, 11 are members of Communist parties. The WPC's longtime president, Romesh Chandra, is a member of the Central Committee of the Indian Communist Party and a recipient of the Lenin Peace Prize.

Financially, the WPC claims that it is supported by contributions from national peace committees, donations to its World Peace Fund, and special collections, as well as by contributions from affiliated organizations and individuals. However, the WPC's

substantial expenditures cannot be completely covered by such means. Most of its expenses are met by the Soviet Union and its East European allies. For example, the Soviet Peace Fund channels money to WPC headquarters in Helsinki. In addition, various WPC-affiliated chapters receive Soviet assistance directly from local Soviet embassies and Communist parties. In 1981, the WPC withdrew its application for Category 1 consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council (which if granted would enable the WPC to address ECOSOC meetings) rather than disclose its funding sources and submit its accounts to an independent audit.

Prague World Peace Assembly

During the week of 21-26 June 1983, several thousand people convened in Prague to participate in the "World Assembly for Peace and Life Against Nuclear War." Sponsored by the WPC and the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the 1983 Prague Assembly's main goal was to promote opposition to NATO's planned deployment in Europe of US intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF). Numerous Soviet and East German official statements and publications have designated stopping NATO INF deployment as "the decisive task of 1983."

The Prague Assembly, under the leadership of the Czechoslovaks and the WPC:

- Attacked the US negotiating position in the Geneva INF talks and exhorted West European publics to resist the deployment of US longer range INF (LRINF) missiles. The US position, which has the full support of the Western allies, offers to cancel planned US LRINF missile deployments if the Soviets will eliminate their LRINF missiles or, failing agreement, to reduce planned deployments to equal levels of warheads on LRINF missiles for both sides.

- Supported the Soviet position in Geneva. The Soviet position would prevent NATO LRINF modernization, require the removal of virtually all US dual-capable aircraft currently needed for NATO's conventional defense, and permit the Soviet Union to retain substantial SS-20 missile forces in Europe and Asia.

WPC's involvement in such activities, spelled out in its 1983 "Program of Action," is another instance in a long record of support for the objectives of Soviet foreign policy.

Chart

This chart of Soviet international fronts depicts the multiple linkages among them. They are linked vertically to the CPSU International Department, which sets policy direction and provides financial support. They are also linked horizontally through the WPC, which has a coordinating role since most of them have representatives in the WPC Presidential Committee or other WPC bodies. The WPC's annual Plan of Action is echoed in the programs of the other major fronts.

Major fronts are shown for youth, labor, women, church, Afro-Asians, scientists, lawyers, and journalists. These fronts, in turn, have regional branches or have associated themselves with other regional organizations in a common cause. The national affiliates listed for each of the major fronts are only those that have representatives who sit on the executive bodies of these fronts.

The "fronts of fronts" are, for the most part, special commissions or committees established by the principal or "parent" fronts to address particular issues. They have the advantage of being able to operate at arm's length from their "parent" fronts and, in this manner, perhaps succeed in attracting support from non-Communist and nonaligned groups. For example, the Trade Union Internationals of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), are large, seemingly independent groups designed to attract professional and union people who might otherwise avoid associating themselves with WFTU directly. These subsidiary organizations are extolled in the publications of the major fronts as if their views represented genuinely independent opinion.

Soviet International Fronts

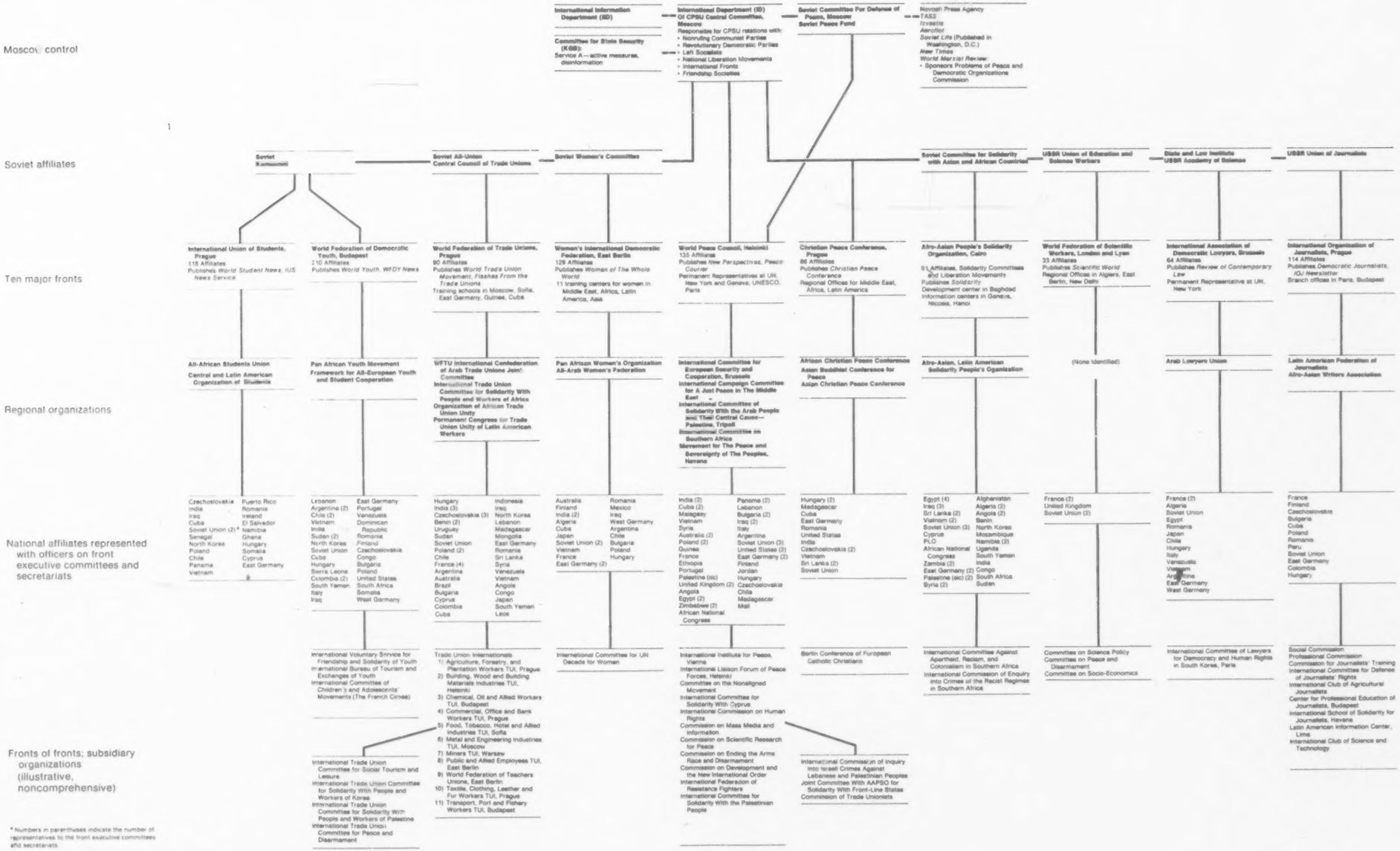
Moscow control

Soviet affiliates

Ten major fronts

Regional organizations

National affiliates represented with officers on front executive committees and secretariats

Fronts of fronts; subsidiary organizations (illustrative, noncomprehensive)

* Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of representatives to the front executive committees and secretariats.